The Scene

of the

Franklin's Tale Visited

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BY

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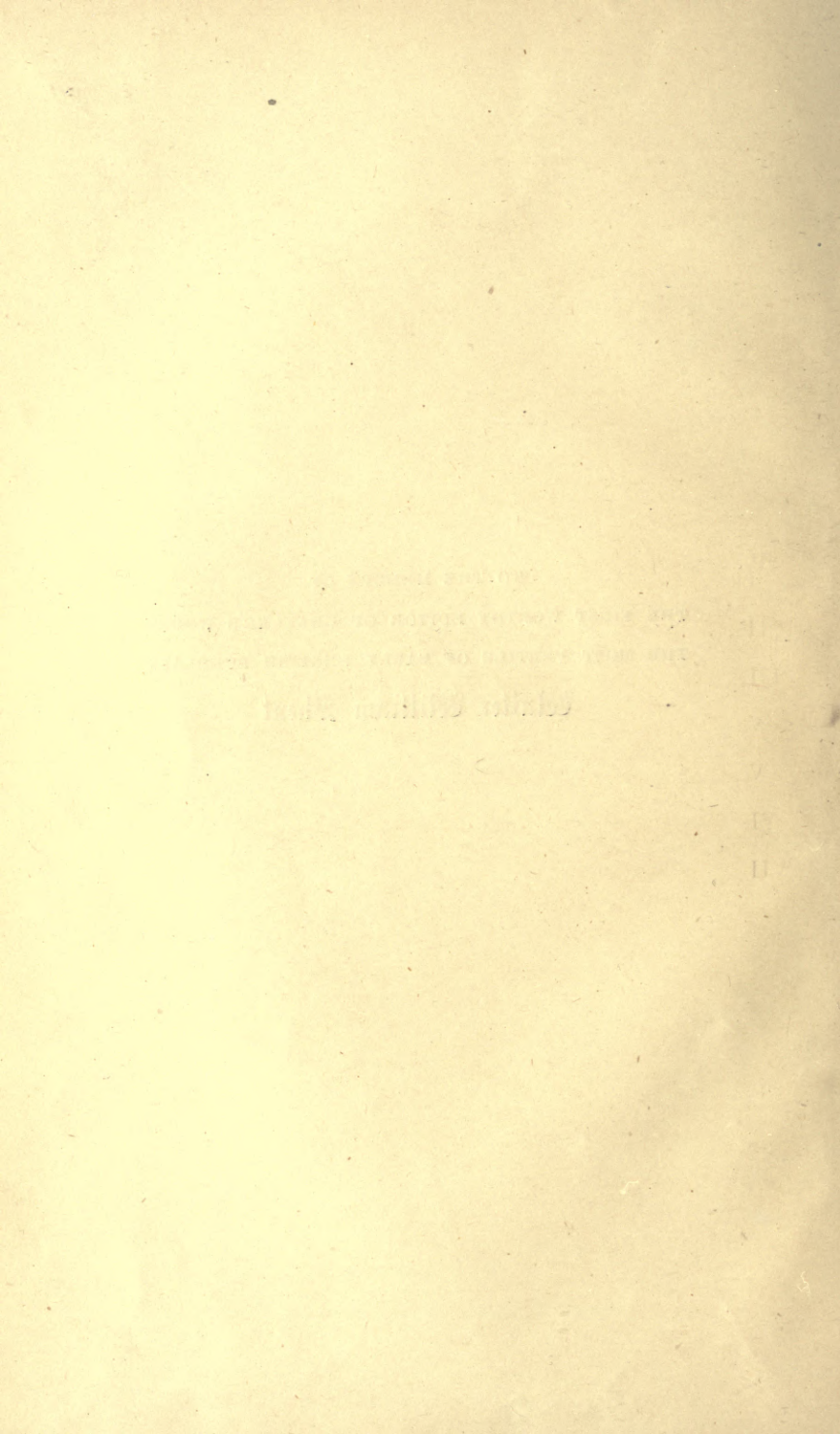
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TO THE MEMORY OF

THE FIRST WORTHY EDITOR OF CHAUCER'S WORKS

THE MOST FERTILE OF EARLY ENGLISH SCHOLARS

Walter William Skeat

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The Scene of the Franklin's Tale Visited.

I.

PENMARK.

THE responsive reader feels the *Franklin's Tale*, a tale without a knave or a fool, to be among the most charming of Chaucer's works, with its nobility, picturesqueness, variety and fluidity, its gentle sarcasm, its vividly mediæval point of view, and the problem in magnanimity with which it ends. We cannot but say, with the Princess Fiammetta in the *Filocolo* when she has heard Menedon's version of it, " Bellissima è la novella e la domanda." New light on its setting and history may therefore be not unwelcome.[1]

As to the general locality Chaucer leaves no doubt. Its scene is in Brittany,

> In Armorik, that called is Britayne (729).

Further, when Arveragus has wedded Dorigen,

> Hoom with his wyf he gooth to his contree,
>
> Nat fer fro Penmark, ther his dwelling was (800–1).

Penmark can be no other than the modern Breton Penmarc'h,[2]

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[1] Of course Chaucer was not primarily interested in the setting (cf. Professor Hart in *Haverford Essays*, pp. 185 ff.). But I shall try first to show how what he says fits the geographical and historical facts.

[2] The *c'h* indicates the unvoiced guttural spirant, like Welsh *ch*, dropped in pronunciation by the French. *Penmark* is the reading of only MS. Ln among those published; the six others have *Pedmark* (passage wanting in Hl). Tyrwhitt says two Bodleian MSS. have *Penmark*, but the best MSS. *Pedmark*. There is a reasonable doubt which reading we should accept as Chaucer's. On the one hand, the latter spelling is not found elsewhere, and no phonetic rule accounts for it; *pen* = head or cape, *marc'h* = horse. On the other, one hesitates to reject the testimony of the best and most numerous MSS. Is the suggestion absurd that *Penmark* might be due to scribal correction, and *Pedmark* to recollection of a possibly dialectical or individual pronunciation, *n* becoming a nasal *d* or ð, Celtic consonants being softly pronounced? In modern Cornish *nn > dn ; penn > pedn* (Pedersen, *Vergl. Gramm. d. kelt. Spr.* I. 156, 158). So in Welsh sometimes *m >* a nasal *v* (*ib.*

the name of a desolate commune in the south-west corner of the department of Finistère, about two kilometres from the end of the Pointe de Penmarch, the southern cape of the most southerly of the three parallel peninsulas in which Brittany ends to the west.[1]

Now arises the question as to the mediæval application of the name, which has been somewhat vague and fluctuating down to the eighteenth century.[2] It did not mean the present town of

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162, 168); in a seventeenth century Welsh MS. I have seen *Priam* written *Priaf* (pronounced *Priav*). For the rest, the spelling may be French, English or loosely phonetic, perhaps influenced by *mark*. The French form is *-marc*, seldomer *-mark*, occasionally the Breton spelling *-march*. (1) *Penmarc* (prose *Tristan* in the S.A.T.F. edition of Thomas' *Tristan*, II. 388; Morice's and Lobineau's histories of Brittany, repeatedly); *Pinamarc* (in a sixteenth-century guide to ports, in Desjardins' *Géogr. de la Gaule rom.* I. pl. VI.); *pennimarc* (repeatedly, in sixteenth-century port-records of Nantes, in Vallaux's *Penmarc'h*, 35–9); *Penmarcz* (subj. case ?, in Lobineau). (2) *Penmark* (seventeenth century, *Arch. de Bret.* IX. and X.; Lobineau). (3) *Penmarch* (Morice; Lobineau; *Arch. de Bret.* V. 38). English spellings are *Penmark* (de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bret.* III. 540; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391–6, p. 280), *Pennarche* (*Ann. Ric. II. et Henr. IV.*, Rolls Ser., 376), *Penarch*(e) (Th. Wals., *Hist. Angl.* II. 260, *Ypod. Neustr.* 403). The early Breton form is *-march* (cf. Loth, *Chrest. Bret.* 150, 219, 497).

[1] There are two other Penmarchs in Brittany. One is " Vieux-Château ou Penmark," on the N.W. shore of Belle-Île-en-Mer, south of Brittany, 100 km. or more from our Pointe (*Dict. Topogr. du Dép. du Morbihan*, ed. Rosenzweig, p. 285). Against identifying Chaucer's Penmark with this there are the following reasons. (1) A smallish island about 30 km. from the mainland is unlikely in the fourteenth century to have been conceived as the dwelling-place of such people as those in the *Franklin's Tale*. Almost nothing is known of the history of Belle-Île before the sixteenth century, till which time it belonged to the abbey of Quimperlé (*Ann. de Bret.* XXIII. 127, XXVII. end, p. 315; Daru, *Hist. de Bret.* I. 324; Larousse, *Grand Dict. Univ.*). (2) There are no particular rocks. (3) This alternative name Penmark is not well known now (it is not on the État Major map), and no evidence is discoverable that it was familiar in the Middle Ages. (4) There is no evidence that the place was ever well known or important (infinitely less celebrated than the first Penmark, the Archivist of Finistère has told me). (5) Even if it were otherwise, an Englishman would at once think of the nearer, more populous and geographically more conspicuous Penmarch. There are also a château and a pond called Penmarc'h in northern Finistère, N.E. of Brest, at Kerradenec, " village en *Saint-Frégant*, sur le bord de la voie qui va de Carhais à Plouguerneau " (Paul du Chatellier, *Époques préhist. et gauloises dans le Finistère*, Rennes and Quimper, 1907, p. 132; de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bret.* I. 111; *Ann. de Bret.* XXIII. 412). The sea-coast nearest the place is somewhat rocky. But its identity with Chaucer's Penmark is negatived by the following reasons. (1) Saint-Frégant is 6–7 km. from the sea, and the château apparently farther. (2) This château seems to be and have been of no especial prominence, and certainly could not have been used to define a locality for foreigners. (3) It is nowhere near a prominent headland, which would have made the locality famous among coastwise seamen.   There is also a Penmark in South Wales, west of Cardiff, near the Bristol Channel.

[2] Camille Vallaux, *Penmarc'h au XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles* (Paris, 1907), p. 12.

Penmarch.[1] From the first it has meant the cape or some part
of it, for *pen* is commonly used in Brittany for a cape. Besides
this, about the time of Charlemagne and later, its equivalent, *Cap
Caval*, was applied to a considerable *pagus*, administrative district
or barony, including most of the region south-west of Quimper.[2]
Which of these, the cape or the agglomeration of parishes, was
in the mind of him who first set the tale near Penmarch ? Or had
he a vaguer idea ? For several reasons it is least likely to have
been the administrative district. This seems always to have
borne the older name, Cap Caval, and the cape must have been
far more widely known, being a prominent and dangerous one,
of sinister fame among shipmen, who must pass it on the way
between England or any northern land and almost any part of
western France. If the localizer knew the region well, he might
possibly have meant the *pagus ;* but probably even so, and
certainly if he did not, he meant the cape, or its vicinity more
vaguely.

Now on reading the poem with the eyes open to scenery, we
find that Chaucer has put it in a singularly vivid and circum-
stantial setting. Arveragus and Dorigen live in a castle hard by
the sea (l. 847). When he will seek worship and honour in arms,
he goes to England, whence he is to return by sea, and his pining
wife walks high [3] upon the shore, and watches many a ship and

[1] The town or parish was called Tuorte-n-Abad in the fourteenth century
in the Cartulary of Quimper (Vallaux, 11), and Tréoultré or Tréoultré Nabat,
etc., till the eighteenth century. In the Middle Ages and soon after, Pen-
march designated the entire cape (Vallaux, 11–12; du Chatellier and
Villeneuve, *Paysages et Monuments de la Bret.*, Paris, 1893, p. 34).

[2] Longnon, *Atlas Hist. de la France*, texte explicatif, p. 172; de la Bor-
derie, *Hist. de Bret.* I., plates at end, and *Géogr. Féod. de Bret.* 39; du Chatel-
lier and Villeneuve, 34; Vallaux, 11–12. In the fourteenth and fifteenth
centuries certain fiscal accounts of the ducal domain, now in the depart-
mental archives at Quimper (Registre A. 40; my authority is the scholarly
Archivist, M. Bourde de la Rogerie, whom I wish to thank for his kindnesses),
show that Cap Caval for administrative purposes included the region from
the Baie d'Audierne nearly to the river Odet (15 km.), extending northward
about 24 km.; but in ordinary usage it may have been smaller. The
deanery of Cap Caval was larger toward the north. The words *Cap Caval*
seem to be pre-Breton Romanic (cf. *Rev. Celt.* XXVIII. 374 ff.; Loth,
Chrest. Bret. 113, 115).

[3]   Up-on the bank an heigh (849).
             Another tyme ther wolde she sitte and thinke,
             And caste hir eyen dounward fro the brinke.
             But whan she saugh the grisly rokkes blake, . . . (857–9).
             Than wolde she sitte adoun upon the grene,
             And pitously in-to the see biholde (862–3).

So far as it depends on *bank* and *brinke*, our picturesque image of a precipitous

barge sailing their course but never bringing him back.   Again, she will cast her eyes over the grisly, fiendly, black[1] rocks, and think of the hundred thousand bodies of mankind that such rocks have slain, and pray the God that made the wind blow to preserve her lord.   The rocks she dreads are clearly not a part of the shore, but are isolated out at sea.[2]   Her friends see that it is no disport for her melancholy to roam by the ocean, and lead her inland (895–9) by rivers and springs, to a garden like paradise.   At the end of the poem she meets her lover

Amidde the toun, right in the quikkest strete (1502),

as she is walking toward the same garden to keep her rash promise. None of the *Canterbury Tales* more unmistakably points to a clearly seen locality, not even the Miller's, Reeve's or Shipman's.[3]

When the twentieth-century traveller arrives at the Pointe de Penmarch, to do which requires a stout pair of legs, Job's patience, or a motor-car, he finds that in most respects Chaucer's description tallies exactly with the present facts.   The region is thoroughly maritime, with a population chiefly of fishermen.   As soon as he reaches the shore he understands Dorigen's terrors.   The shore itself at low tide consists of great expanses of low reef, with occasional block-like masses, and now and then a sand beach. Circling it for some fifteen or twenty kilometres, from one to a

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cliff, M. Legouis' *falaise escarpée*, may be due to a misunderstanding, for the words here mean simply *shore* (cf. cases in *Oxf. Dict.* and Stratmann; and *Franklin's Tale* 1160, *H.F.* 803, *Boece*, III. M. 10).   Still, the looking into the sea and down on the outlying rocks show that Chaucer clearly pictured a high and steepish shore; isolated rocks are off rather than down, except from a considerable height.

[1] " The grisly rokkes blake " (859); " thise grisly feendly rokkes blake " (868); " alle thise rokkes blake " (891); " alle the rokkes blake " (1158).

[2]   Loke what day that, endelong Britayne,
            Ye remoeve alle the rokkes, stoon by stoon,
            That they ne lette ship ne boot to goon (992–4).

Aurelius prays for so great a flood-tide

            That fyve fadme at the leeste it overspringe
            The hyeste rokke in Armorik Britayne (1060–1);

emotional hyperbole, to be sure, but Chaucer hardly pictured shore-rocks. Aurelius' brother plans for an illusion by which all the black rocks

            Of Britaigne weren y-voided everichon,
            And shippes by the brinke comen and gon (1159–60).

Rocks a part of the coast might excite a melancholy woman's fears, but they certainly do not hinder boats from going along the shore.

[3] Localized at Oxford, near Cambridge, near Paris.   Skeat remarks that Chaucer does not seem to realize how near Trumpington is to Cambridge.

few kilometres out, is a fearful chain of granitic rocks, many of
them never submerged, dark-brownish and greyish above high-
water mark, black below with marine growth. " La côte de
Penmarch est célèbre pour ses rochers noirâtres." [1] And one
need only look at the grim names on the maps to see that others
than Dorigen have felt the terrors of this part of the Breton coast.
At the other end of the Baie d'Audierne is the little Baie des
Trépassés, where tradition says are to be heard the wails of the
drowned; at Saint-Guénolé, close to the end of the point, is the
Tal-an-ifern (Hell-Hole), and one of the Rochers de Penmarch is
called La Roche des Victimes. The huge Phare d'Eckmühl was
built at the end of the point by the daughter of one of Napoleon's
generals, that the lives lost in war might be atoned for, as the
medal struck in her honour says, by lives saved from ship-
wreck; and the lighthouse-keeper says that wrecks have greatly
diminished since the establishment of a siren. Even in not
particularly heavy weather the surf runs very high, and may be
seen from the flat interior over the tops of the houses. Precisely
as Chaucer indicates, the most dangerous rocks are those out
from the shore, so that only small boats, and hardly they, could
" by the brinke comen and gon." And in fact none but a lover
of the ocean at its harshest could find there disport to roam by the
sea; to discover a fit place for a garden such as Chaucer describes
and the mediævals loved, one must go well inland, and even as
far as Château Kernu, some six or eight kilometres from the
water, the trees are all permanently bowed by the violent winds.
But inland everywhere are little verdant valleys, where run
limpid brooks.

In two matters Chaucer's description is at variance with the

[1] Joanne, *Atlas de la France* (Paris, 1874), *s.v.* Finistère. " Ces rochers
noirs et séparés se prolongent jusqu'aux bornes de l'horizon " (de Cambry's
Voyage dans le Finistère, Brest, 1835; I. 158); " Penmarc'h, built upon the
dark rocks that form a barrier against the sea, on one of the wildest pro-
montories of Cornouaille " (Blackburn's *Breton Folk*, London, 1880, pp. 112-
13). The Penmarch rocks are among the most celebrated and formidable
of the whole dangerous Breton coast: cf. any large map, Vallaux, p. 31,
Burat, *Voyages sur les côtes de France* (Paris, 1880), 201–3. De Cambry had
seen the sea and storms in many parts of the world, but nothing like the
ocean striking the Penmarch rocks. De la Borderie (I. 4) speaks of the
" énorme entassement de roches cyclopéennes " and the " effroyables coups
de canon " of the surf, which at times can be heard to near Quimper. In
Mr. Goble's picture opposite p. 256 of Tatlock and Mackaye's *Modern
Reader's Chaucer* the rocks are well represented in the middle distance (but
not in the background or foreground).

present facts. Though well settled, it is not a thronged or aristocratic region, and some time ago was almost deserted. " In the quickest street " of Penmarch there is nothing to hinder the geese from waddling at leisure ; the traveller sees only peasants, in handsome costumes and driving smart little village-carts, but living like the beasts that perish ; and from the shore is likely to see no sails but little fishing-boats, or larger vessels, hull-down, on their way to Nantes or La Rochelle. But it will not take long to show that in the late Middle Ages the neighbourhood had a considerable and an aristocratic population.[1] It was important enough in the thirteenth century for the French prose *Tristan* to localize the coming of Yseult of Ireland and the death of Tristan near " le port de Penmarc," in a passage which curiously suggests Dorigen's watching by the shore and which may have been known to 'Chaucer.[2] At Pont-l'Abbé, the chief place of the modern canton, 13 km. from the end of the point, still stands a very imposing castle built in the fourteenth century, the seat of baronial jurisdiction over a large part of Cap Caval. The barony seems to have existed since the eleventh century ; in feudal times it was divided into fourteen parishes and three *châtellenies*, with three other castles 16 km. or less from the point. Among the principal fiefs was a *seigneurie* at Plonéour (13 km.), which itself had the title of barony. Among various minor fiefs (8–19 km.) were those at Treffiagat and Plobannalec, close to the south shore whence one sees the Penmarch rocks. There were other seigneuries in Cap Caval, holding directly from the duke (8–17 km.).[3] Still visible here and there are ruins of ancient manors ; between the church of Penmarch and the sea is a line of manors or fortified hôtels, some of them dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, two almost intact, enclosed with fortified walls, one of them machicolated, with monumental gates. These imply persons of station.[4] There are said to be

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[1] But there is no ground for the persistent tradition that at Penmarch there was formerly a city as large as Nantes, or for calling Penmarch " the Palmyra of Brittany " (cf. Vallaux, p. 10, etc.).

[2] Bédier's edition of Thomas' *Tristan* (S.A.T.F.), II. 388–9. See p. 73 below. The author evidently did not know the place any too well.

[3] De la Borderie, *Géogr. Féod. de la Bret.* (Rennes, 1889), 39, 134–5, and *Hist. de Bret.* III. 76. G. Puig de Ritalongi has a book on *Les Chevaliers Bannerets du Pont.*

[4] Du Chatellier and Ducrest de Villeneuve, *op. cit.*, 37 ; Joanne, *Dict. des Communes ;* Larousse, *Gd. Dict. Universel.*

remains of a priory of Templars,[1] an order suppressed in the
fourteenth century. Very numerous Bretons of consequence from
the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries bore the name *de Pen-
marc*.[2] Various dukes of Brittany are said to have dated ordin-
ances from Penmarch as an important community, doubtless
before 1491, when the duchy was united to France.[3] In 1403
an English fleet went to Penmarch, and landed about 4000
soldiers, who burned the " villas " and much goods, going inland
six leagues.[4] De la Borderie, speaking of this, calls Penmarch
" une bourgade riche et commerçante mais ouverte." [5]   On the
whole, there is every indication that in the fourteenth century
Penmarch was populous and a natural residence for such people
as Chaucer's.[6]

Secondly, Chaucer's words imply a bold and high shore, and
do not fit a notably low and flat one. At the point itself and as
far as can be seen in a somewhat hazy air, the shore is just that,
expanses of sand and low reefs, rolling back at places in dunes,
not rising even ten yards above the water till one is a half-mile
inland. Within sight of the Rochers de Penmarch there is no
coast which fits Chaucer's description.[7]   Chaucer does not say,

[1] *Nouveau Larousse Illustré.*

[2] Lobineau (cf. indices); Morice, VI. 399, 519, XVII. 355.

[3] Larousse, *Gd. Dict. Universel.*

[4] *Ann. Ric. II. et Henr. IV.* (Rolls Ser., 1866), 376; Thomas Walsingham,
Hist. Angl. (Rolls Ser.) II. 260; and *Ypodigma Neustriæ* (Rolls Ser.), p. 403;
Bellier-Dumaine, *L'Administr. de Bret.*, p. 92 (Paris and Rennes, 1902, also
in *Ann. de Bret.* XVI. 126); Lobineau, I. 503.

[5] *Hist. de Bret.* IV. 147.

[6] There are many other indications, such as the number and beauty of
the churches; that of Penmarch, very large, beautiful and unusual, dates
from 1508, but replaces an earlier, and seaward even from the lighthouse
stands a fifteenth-century church-tower. In the sixteenth century the port
seems to have been the most active in the coasting trade of the smaller ports
of Cornouaille; a main industry had been supplying " Lenten stuff " for
the interior (Vallaux, 13, 29). In this century and the following the noble
families abandoned and sold their lands (Vallaux, 31–2); the decline is
believed to have been due to the exploiting of the Newfoundland fisheries,
the ravages of the Spanish and of the freebooter La Fontenelle, etc. (Val-
laux, 20 ff.; du Chatellier and Ducrest de Villeneuve, 35–7).   Quantities
of ruins attest a larger population in the past.   Old streets at Penmarch-
Kérity in the nineteenth century, with such names as Rue du Marché au
Blé and Rue des Orfèvres, show the place to have once been more urban than
now (Vallaux, 9, 30).

[7] M. Bédier bears me out : " Il n'y a pas de falaise à Penmarch " (*Tristan*,
II. 299).   In one place in the commune du Chatellier mentions a " falaise
qui domine la mer " (*Époches*, 310), which must be very low, for the writer
did not see it when he visited the point in the fall of 1911. Near Lesconil,
10–12 km. eastward, whence one could see the rocks, the land rises to 14–26

however, that the rocks were at Penmarch, but that Arveragus went home with his wife

> to his contree,
>
> Nat fer fro Penmark, ther his dwelling was (800–1).

It is hard to tell how much or little is meant by " nat fer fro." It might depend on the degree of familiarity with the locality.[1] From one familiar with a well-known and thickly settled country the phrase would seem to imply a spot within a very few miles. Yet a man writing for those not familiar with it, still more one not himself familiar with it, might use so prominent a cape to fix any locality not nearer an equally well-known landmark. To the north we do not find such short of the Pointe du Raz and the Île de Sein, 40 km. away across the Baie d'Audierne; more prominent yet, the former apparently known to Ptolemy (Penmarch was not) as Γόβαιον ἄκρον,[2] and the latter to British seamen as " The Saints." [3]   As an eastern limit we may choose Belle-Île-en-Mer and Hennebont, Auray and Vannes, prominent places extremely well known in fourteenth-century England.[4]   For a fit locality it is useless to look toward the north. As one approaches the Pointe du Raz the shore becomes more and more bold, and at the point itself the cliffs are very fine indeed, but

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metres above low tide, but it is one or two kilometres inland.   Elevations of the coast can be seen in Burat's *Voyages sur les côtes de France*, in *Carte de France à* $\frac{1}{300000}$, Flle. no. 29 (1895), and in the French Admiralty charts. The coast has changed and is still changing, through erosion and through actual change of level (as is shown by Roman remains found beneath low-water mark).   But the change must have been slight.   Cf. Vallaux, 16–20; *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.*, Série VI. Vol. X. 225–241; Desjardins, I. pl. X. and p. 306 (corrected by de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bret.* I. 6–11); *Annales de Géogr.*, XII. 19–30; *Bull. de la Soc. Géol. de France*, IIIᵉ Série, XIV. 655–65; *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. du Finistère*, XXXIII. 3–9; Lasteyrie, *Bibliogr. Gén.* I. 510; Longnon, *Atlas Histor.*, texte explic., i–iii; du Chatellier, *Époches*, 311.

[1] To many Europeans, Buenos Ayres is near New York, both being in " America "; to the American, Buffalo is not near it.   In modern Europe, " near " as designating a place generally means within two or three miles or so.

[2] Bk. II. ch. viii. § 1.

[3] The Pointe du Raz was seemingly known also to Strabo and other early geographers (cf. Desjardins, *Géogr. de Gaule Rom.* I. 309 ff., and de la Borderie, I., first plate at the end).   Both point and island appear as " Calbium promontorium " and " Sena " in Graesse's *Orbis Latinus* (Berlin, 1909).   The Pointe de Penmarch appears in none of these, and has no characteristic English name.

[4] The first is as prominent as Penmarch for shipping going toward western France; the other three were important places and conspicuous in the Breton campaigns of the Hundred Years War.

there are scarcely any outlying rocks till one reaches the point,
and there they are inconsiderable, except miles out at sea, beyond
the Île de Sein.   To the east and south the coast is somewhat more
promising for such a search.   All the way to the vicinity of Belle-
Ile, Vannes, etc., and even farther, to the Loire, the approximate
boundary of Brittany, there is more or less boldish coastline (few
precipitous cliffs), and more or less outlying ledge.   Places which
combine the two are the coast about and east of Concarneau
(35 km. from Penmarch), which shows elevations of 25–60 metres
1–2 km. inland ; opposite the island of Groix (70 km.), with 19–24
m. ½ km. inland ; and the slim peninsula of Quiberon (100 km.),
with 20–29 m. close to the shore.   But Groix is much nearer
Belle-Île, etc., and Quiberon exactly between it and Auray and
Vannes.   Concarneau fits best, but not very well, the distance
being considerable, the heights low or inland, the rocks incon-
siderable or in the fine sheltered Baie de la Forest.   Nowhere are
the outlying rocks very impressive, to judge from the map, or
comparable to those at Penmarch, which stretch as far as the eye
can see.

  So there is no place which perfectly fits Chaucer's description,
no place not far from Penmarch with a high bold shore facing
alarming ledges at sea.   It is clear, and no one will be surprised,
that the first localizer of the tale drew somewhat on his imagina-
tion.   Of all the detail, that most likely to be the product of it
is the bold shore, which, being picturesque and in keeping, might
well deceive the memory or appeal to the invention.   It seems
likely that the black rocks which Chaucer mentions so often are
the exposed, formidable and famous black Rochers de Penmarch,
and that the scene of the poem, if definitely placed at all, is
within a few miles of the point, very likely within the limits of
Cap Caval, which in almost all respects fits the account so per-
fectly.   It is likely enough that the localizer, without an actual
spot in mind, put the scene near Penmarch simply because he
knew about it and knew that there were rocks there.

II.

KAYRRUD.

CHAUCER tells us still more of the dwelling-place of Dorigen and of her husband,

> That of Kayrrud was cleped Arveragus (808).

Kayrrud can hardly be anything but the name of the place where " stood hir castel faste by the see," or of the castle itself. Celtic scholars and unlettered Bretons recognize the name as the modern Kerru (Welsh *Caer-rhudd*), which occurs now and then in Brittany.[1] But an examination of the very minute maps published by the État Major for the coast and for 10–30 km. inland, on both sides of the Pointe de Penmarch all the way not only from the Pointe du Raz to Vannes, but even from Brest to the mouth of the Loire, shows there is now no such place near the ocean. If a Kerru cannot be found which fits the conditions, this may be because the choice of this particular Breton name was a part of the fiction, or be due to a change of name or to the disappearance of the place.

The meaning of the name seems certain. *Kaer* (*Caer*) is a very general word in early Breton for a place of almost any size,

[1] There is a village Kerru in the commune of Ploaré (Finistère), near the S.E. corner of the Baie de Douarnenez. But it is inland from a sheltered bay, there are no particular rocks near it, and it is over 30 km. in a straight line from Penmarch, and on a different stretch of coast far beyond the Pointe du Raz. "Not far from Penmarch" would be a very unnatural way to localize it. There is a hamlet named Kerru near Baud (*Dict. Topogr. du Départ. du Morbihan*, p. 144), which is 30 km. from the sea and 100 from Penmarch. Other places so named might be found if we had topographic dictionaries for Finistère and Côtes-du-Nord; the department of Ille-et-Vilaine, for which one has recently appeared, is wholly French-speaking. There is a Port-Rhu in the commune of Douarnenez (du Chatellier, *Époches*, 255, 258–9), and an ancient mound called Château-Rouge (=Ker-ru ?) near Bannalec (inland; *ibid.* p. 346). The name Carouge, not infrequent in Le Morbihan (*Dict. Topogr.*, 36), seems to be not for Car-rouge but for Quadruvium (*Rev. Celt.* XXVIII. 403). Names somewhat like Kayrrud, of different origin, are to be found here and there, such as Kerouet, Kerroué, Kerrué, Kerrod(e), Kerrus (Joanne, *Dict. Géogr. de la France*, État Major maps, Morice's *Hist. de Bret.*, etc.). None is suitably situated, except the first, possibly, just west of the Baie de la Forest, 30 km. from the end of our point. Still more fruitless proved the questioning of peasants near Penmarch, and examination of early maps (less detailed than modern maps) in the Bibliothèque National, and (by the Archivist and by the writer) of various documents in the departmental archives at Quimper, some going back to the fifteenth century.

from a fortress or a farm or two to a town, but usually applies to
a small place.[1] *Rud* is the modern *ru*, Middle Breton, *ruz*, **rud**,
Old Breton *rud*, meaning *red*. The meaning of Kayrrud is there-
fore " red mansion," " hamlet," " village," or possibly " town."
This does little more than confirm the interpretation of Tyrwhitt
and Skeat.

This interpretation is significant. " Tous les archéologues
bretons savent qu'ils sont presque certains de trouver des vestiges
gallo-romains dans les localités appelées Kerru, Menezru, Tyru,
Croazru." [2] No one needs to be told that in Britain and Gaul
alike the Romans and Romanized natives built with brick;
sometimes it was laid in reddish cement, either alone or with
courses of brick alternating with wide or narrow courses of stone.
The Breton population were struck by the red colour given by
the bricks to Roman structures, the materials of which were
sometimes used for later building. The brick and stone Roman
wall of Rennes, parts of which are still visible, is the reason for
the epithets *urbs rubra*, given the city in mediæval chronicles,[3]
and *ville rouge* and *rede toune* given it by such a romance as that
of Ponthus and Sidoine.[4] Some such explanation of the name
Kerru seems necessary, for the grey and brown of modern Brit-
tany, with its stone and thatch, sets one to wondering as to the
origin of a brightly-coloured name. Is it possible, then, that we

[1] In Middle Breton, eleventh to seventeenth centuries, " fort, remparts
et village " (Loth, *Chrest. Bret.*, 194, and cf. 113, 454); " oppidum, villa,
medietaria " (Old Breton, *Cartul. de Redon*, in Documents Inédits series,
Index Onomasticus); " logis, village, bourg " (Midd. Bret., Henry, *Lexicon
Étymol. . . . du Bret. Mod.* (Rennes, 1900, and in the *Bibliothèque Bret.-
Armoric.* published by the *Annales de Bretagne*). " Kerfrès [mentioned in
1414] n'a jamais été qu'un groupe de deux ou trois maisons " (Vallaux, 30).
Villa is constantly translated *Kaer*. Penmarch and its neighbourhood in
the fourteenth century, though populous, formed not at all an urban or
highly fortified community. The modern Breton Ker " veut dire tout,"
as a Breton told the writer, " maison, manoir, ferme, village, endroit," but
applies only to a very small settlement, and the number on a map varies
with its scale. " Le sens [de Kayrrud, maison ou village rouge] me paraît
sur " (says M. Loth).
[2] My authority is the Archivist of Finistère, M. Bourde de la Rogerie, a
trained scholar, and his statement was confirmed by another Breton scholar,
M. le Vicomte de la Lande de Calan, of Rennes. *Menez* (Welsh *mynydd*) =
mountain, *ty* (W. *ty*) = house, *croaz* (W. *croes*) = cross. I have mentioned
a Kerru and a Port-Rhu near the Baie de Douarnenez; sure enough, there
are remains of Roman dwellings at them (du Chatellier, *Époches*, 255–60).
[3] *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule*, by Adrien Blanchet (Paris, 1907),
pp. 50–3; de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bret.* I. 134. Something similar is to be
seen at Nantes, Brest and Vannes (Blanchet, 59–61).
[4] Cf. F. J. Mather's edition, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XII. pp. lv, 41.

are to look in an originally Gallo-Roman settlement for Dorigen's

> magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in faëry lands forlorn ?

To follow out this lead, and seek Gallo-Roman remains in the neighbourhood discussed is simply to take the course which any Breton archæologist would take.   And we shall have no difficulty. Such remains are to be found in many parts of Brittany, abound in the department of Finistère,[1] are especially numerous near Penmarch, and have been found directly facing the Rochers.   In the commune of Penmarch at the little port of Kérity have been found a large quantity of Roman bronze coins, broken tiles or brick, and pottery ; du Chatellier dug up on the beach the sub-structure of a Roman *villa* uncovered only at low tide, a Roman vase was found still further seaward, and at Guilvinec potteries and tiles have been found.[2]   Further, there is no reason to doubt that the better educated of the inhabitants would have known that such early remains were of Roman origin.[3]   The more civilized mediæval peoples, while believing much that was fabulous as to the history of their lands, were well acquainted with the main facts.   On the sites of Gallo-Roman settlements such patently ancient relics as coins and statues are so often found even to-day, and even without search, that they can hardly have been found less frequently so much nearer the time when they were made.   Further, M. du Chatellier's book shows that these

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[1] Paul du Chatellier, *Les Époches préhistoriques et gauloises dans le Finistère* (Rennes and Quimper, 1907).   Du Chatellier was one of the most eminent of Breton archæologists.

[2] Du Chatellier, pp. 311, 320.   To show the extreme abundance of ancient remains not far from Penmarch, I mention, following him, places where tile, brick, foundations, pottery, statues, coins and jewellery have been found near the shore, from 15 km. north to beyond Concarneau (40 km. east of Penmarch) : Penhors (p. 283), Tréguennec (327), Tronoen (324, an "oppidum"), Kerviltré (324, 328, a hundred and fifty Gaulish habitations and a cemetery), Loctudy (307), Kergadec and Kerobestin (305–6), at the mouth of the Odet (269, a biggish *villa*), on and near the creek or cove of Groasguen (270), Beg-Meil (268), near Pointe Cabellou (251) and near Pointe de Trévignon (254).   Up the river Odet at Le Pérennou are remains of Roman baths and of a large and handsome *villa* (334), and there are remains of Roman roads in the river-valley and between Quimper and Tronoen and Penmarch-Kérity (267, 279, 336).

[3] A village near Quimper, at which Roman tiles have been found, is called Ker-Romen (*villa Romanorum ;* du Chatellier, 331).   There are nine or ten places in Le Morbihan named Ker(r)oman, one of them called *Villa Romanorum* in an ancient deed (*Dict. Topogr. du Morbihan ; Rev. Celt.* XXII. 89; *Archives de Bret.* X. 217).

finds are often of high money value, gold coins, jewellery, gems;
the Bretons must have taken some notice of the places where they
found them, even if they never searched.   Therefore when Kayr-
rud was named, if there ever was such a place near Penmark,
it probably contained visible and perhaps recognized ancient
remains.

I have not yet commented on the form of the name Kayrrud
(or Kairrud).[1]   A scrutiny of it will throw some light on the
question whence Chaucer obtained it. Neither syllable of
Chaucer's form shows a natural Middle-Breton spelling. " Cette
graphie [Kayrrud]," Professor Loth tells me, " n'est pas bretonne,
je crois, ni pour *y*, ni peut-être pour *rud*."   The spelling *Kayr*
seems never to be found in Brittany, and *Kair* almost never,[2]
among hundreds of early cases. Though they might of course
be a free and easy English writing of the usual Breton forms,
there remains *-rud*.   This is the Old-Breton form (to the eleventh
century, pronounced nearly *ruð*).[3]   In the Middle-Breton period
(eleventh to seventeenth centuries) the sound ð was still written
d in proper names as late as the first half of the thirteenth

[1] The forms in the published MSS. are kayrrud (El, Cm Gg), kairrud
(Hn), kairud (Cm Dd), kynred(e) (Cp. Pt, Ln,—" That of kynrede was
cleped Arueragus " !) HI lacks the passage. We have only the one
occurrence of the name; but the MSS. are essentially unanimous, for even
the error of the worst three testifies to the two crucial letters, the *y* (or *i*)
and the *d*. Tyrwhitt reads *Cairrud*, Urry *kinrede*, and Thynne and Speght
Caere Iuda (!).

[2] Once, in 1252, as a variant of *Kaier*, itself very rare, in the Beauport
documents (cf. *Rev. Celt.* VII. 57, III. 289); twice for one place in *Dict.
Topogr. du Morb.* p. 302. Old-Breton forms are *ker*, *kaer*, *chaer*, *caer*, *kar*,
car (in the Cartulary of Redon, of the eleventh century and earlier; and
quoted by Loth, who adds *cher*, from the tenth and eleventh centuries,
Chrest. Bret. 97, 113). Middle-Breton forms (almost all thirteenth century,
Rev. Celt. III. 404, VII. 55–9, VIII. 65–6) in documents of the abbey of
Beauport are *Caer*, *Kaier*, *Kair* (all rare), *Car*, *Ker* (somewhat rare), *Quar*,
Quaer, *Quer* (not uncommon), *Kar*, *Kaer* (common). In the eleventh to
thirteenth-century cartulary of the abbey of Quimperlé we find usually
Caer (*Ann. de Bret.* XI. 521 ff., XXVII. end). Loth gives *Car*, *Kar*, *Ker*,
Caer, *Kaer* (twelfth to fourteenth century, *Chr. Bret.* 194–5). *Caer* is
the Middle-Breton form in Henry's *Lex. Étymol.* Early forms in the
Dict. Top. du Morb. are *Caer*, *Car*, *Chaer*, *Char*, *Cher*, *Kair*, *Kar*, *Quar*,
Quer (all rare), *Kaer*, *Ker* (common). M. Loth tells me he knows *Cayr* in
Cornwall in the tenth or eleventh century, which hardly helps. The early-
Breton forms are derived from cartularies, etc., no Breton texts ante-
dating the late fifteenth century.

[3] In the Cartularies of Redon and Landevennec; cf. Loth, *Chrest. Bret.*
102–3, 130, 163, 126; *Rev. Celt.* II. 111; Ernault, *Glossaire Moyen-Breton*
(Paris, 1895); *Études Gramm. sur les Langues Celt.*, by D'Arbois de Jubain-
ville (Paris, 1881), p. 28*; Pedersen, *Vergl. Gramm. d. kelt. Spr.* (Göttingen,
1908–11), I. 110. Other writings for ð sometimes found are *t*, *th*.

century, but oftener z during that century, and regularly z after it.[1] All this certainly justifies one in saying that *Kayrrud* (*Kairrud*) is a form extremely unlikely to have been found in a document written by a Breton, even if such were likely otherwise to have been Chaucer's source, for a century before his day, and somewhat unlikely at any date.

It is much more significant that it is even less likely to be an early Breton form which has passed through the French. If it were, all evidence shows that it should have had the form *Carru* (or *Karru*). The Early-Breton *caer*, etc., in composition, among French speakers simplified in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to *car*.[2] To this day places named *Car-* in Le Morbihan [3] are nearly all close to or east of the line between French and Breton, which divides the department about evenly and has changed little since the twelfth century.[4] The French lays and romances almost if not quite always have *Car-* (*Kar-*).[5] As to the *rud*

[1] Occasionally *s* in this period. "On a déjà *Rus* et *Ruz* au XIIᵉ et au XIIIᵉ s.," says M. Loth. See Loth, *Chr. Bret.*, 184, 229, 513; *Ann. de Bret.* IV. 633, XI. 526; Ernault in *Rev. Celt.* V. 124–5; Le Men, *Hist. de l'Abb. de Quimperlé*, p. 54; Pedersen, I. 110; Zimmer in *Zt. für franz. Spr. u. Litt.* XIII. 4, 5, 51. A single late case of *d* for *z*, in the fifteenth-century *Catholicon*, has been pointed out (Ernault in *Rev. Celt.* VI. 396, XX. 395), *Kaerdu* for *Kaerzu ; du* should weaken to *zu* after a fem. sing. noun (Ernault, *Petite Gramm. Bret.* 9, Pedersen, I. 449). The above spelling may be a mere careless retention of the radical form, or it and Chaucer's form might possibly be examples of the archaism sometimes found in proper names.

[2] *Car* for *Caer* is "une évolution française ancienne " (Loth in *Rev. Celt.* XXVIII. 383), as early as the above period (pp. 393, 396). Cf. Loth in *Rev. Celt.* XXIV. 296; Zimmer, in *Zt. frz. Spr.* XIII. 36, 90; Lot in *Romania* XXIX. 380 ff.; Brugger in *Zt. frz. Spr.* XX. 150. *Carhaix* (*Carahes, Quarahes*) in Finistère is French for *Kerahes.*

[3] The État Major maps seem to normalize all to *Ker-.* Farther east the word is generally translated, as *Ville-.*

[4] Loth, *Chrest. Bret.*, pp. 2, 3 (Paris, 1890; also published serially in *Annales de Bret.* Vols. I.–V.).

[5] Rarely *Char-.* No other forms appear to be found even by the most zealous defenders of the Breton origin of the *matière de Bretagne.* There seem to be few cases of *Car-*, still less of other forms, used of places in Brittany, except *Carahes*, the source of the first syllable of which is disputed (Lot in *Rom.* XXV. 27, XXIX. 380 ff.; Loth in *Rev. Celt.* XXIV. 388–90). It becomes *Karke* in Gottfried's *Tristan.* The Breton location of *Carnant* (*Erec*, 2315) and Caruent (*Yonec*, 13, 525) is denied by weighty authorities (*Rom.* XIV. 603, XXIV. 526, XXV. 9, XXVIII. 25; but cf. *Zt. frz. Spr.* XIII. 36). Of course there are innumerable cases of Carlion and Carduel, believed by most scholars to be insular. The English lays and romances are naturally much the same, with almost invariably *Car-* (less often *Kar-*). Two or three cases of *Ker-* (stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, E.E.T.S., and *Ywain and Gawain*, in Ritson) are doubtless due to the fluctuation between *carl* —*cherl*, *dark*—*derk*, *mark*—*merk*, etc. The alliterative *Morte Arthur* has *Caer-* once (*Kaer-*, *Caer-* are the forms in Geoffrey of Monmouth). The

*Karéol in Wagner's Tristan

(*ruz*), among French-speaking Bretons final *d* disappeared from pronunciation and writing of Breton names in the early twelfth century.[1] This is only what would be expected by any one familiar with Old-French phonology. This leaves us with *Carru* (or *Karru*), the form to be expected in any French work.

If *Kayrrud* (*Kairrud*) probably did not come through a Breton document, and certainly not through a French, how is it to be accounted for? The remaining possibility is that it represents the Breton pronunciation as it sounded to an Englishman. *Kayr* (*Kair*), which certainly has an English look, was a natural way of representing the somewhat impure back vowel evidently indicated by the numerous Middle-Breton forms. And probably every one will admit that *rud* was not an unsuitable way of representing *ruz*, of which the final sound was only approximately like *th* in *with*.[2] There are cases of the representation of a Celtic þ-sound (still less to be expected) by *d*.[3] The rather indistinct Celtic, especially Welsh, ð-sound fares variously in English.[4] An

short *Arthur* (ed. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., 1864) has *Cayrlyon* (l. 43), probably an approximation, like Chaucer's *Kayr-*, to the Celtic pronunciation, for the writer knows and quotes Welsh (ll. 524–5). Clearly the French form *Carru* (*Karru*) would have been satisfactory to any English scribe.

[1] Zimmer, in *Zt. frz. Spr.* XIII., gives as examples, mostly from the *matière de Bretagne*, *Nud* > *Nu* (pp. 50–1), and for the interior position O. Bret. *Gradlon* > O. Fr. *Graelent* (cf. Schofield, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XV. 126), *Bledri* > *Bleheri*, *Rodalt* > *Roalt*, etc. (pp. 4–6). Loth refers to the interior change when he says, in speaking of the Gallicizing of Breton names (*Rev. Celt.* XXVIII. 383; cf. pp. 381, 386–7, 392), "L'évolution de *th*, ð en *h* au xiie siècle est un fait plutôt français." About the same time the final ð-sound in French coming from the Latin *t*, *d*, disappeared (cf. Nyrop, I. 309, 313, and Menger, *Anglo-Norm. Dial.*, N.Y., 1904, pp. 92–7); though the final *d* was often written till much later in official Anglo-French. The final ð-sound in Breton has vanished totally all over modern Brittany; in Léon, the *ru* of other dialects is still written *ruz* (pronounced with the French *z*).

[2] Loth, *Chrest. Bret.*, p. 184. *Ruth* might seem more natural, but would suggest the unvoiced sound. Spenser, less at the mercy of scribes than Chaucer, shows more phonetic ingenuity, writing Welsh *gwyrdd* as *guiridh* and *goch* as *gogh* (*Fairy Queen*, II. 10, 24; cf. Dr. C. A. Harper, *British Chronicle History in the F. Q.*, Bryn Mawr, 1910, p. 68).

[3] *Crowd, crowde* (= fiddle) < Welsh *crwth ; curd, crodde* perhaps < Irish *cruth, groth*, etc.

[4] Welsh *dd* becomes *th*,—*Meredydd, Maredudd* > *Meredith ; Gruffydd* > *Griffith ; bardd* > *barth* (occasional, early modern; *bard*, like *Druid*, is through the Latin or Irish); or *ff*,—*Caerdydd* > *Cardiff ;* or *l* (?),—*Myrddin* > *Merlin* (Geoffrey, who drew from Welsh sources, has *Merlinus*). For a reverse change (Engl. *d* > W. *dd*) *bord* or *board* has passed into Welsh as *bwrdd, geard* or *yard* as *gardd*, and cf. *hŷdan, hide*, with W. *hudd, huddo ;* Fluellen repeatedly turns *adversary* into *athversary* (*Henry V.*, III. ii. and vi.); English *perfe(c)t* has become Welsh *perffeith*. W. *cantref* has passed into English as *cantred* (from the fourteenth century down). On some of

especial reason for the use of *d* for something like the ð-sound might be the constant fluctuation in late Middle- and early Modern-English between *d* and *th*, which probably points to the existence of an "interdental stop."[1] Further, in putting proper names into Latin it was quite usual to represent *th* by *d*.[2]

The reliable results of this research seem to be these. *Kayrrud* is not only a Breton name; places so named now exist in Brittany, though not in the region which is the scene of the *Franklin's Tale*. The interpretation of the name shows that it is not unlikely to have existed there formerly, and that it would naturally belong to a place which, once at least, contained conspicuous Gallo-Roman masonry, very probably known as such to the inhabitants. The bearings of all this on the history of the tale are uncertain if we are ignorant of its source. If it is based on a local tradition, it may have been found localized at a place so named;[3] if the location at Penmarch is part of the fiction, introduced by Chaucer or at an earlier stage, the name may either have been known to exist near Penmarch or not, and may have been chosen either with or without consciousness of the application or meaning of the word. Some light on the question of source is afforded by the fact that the form of the word makes it appear very unlikely to have been derived from a work written in French.

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the above words, and in general the difficult subject of Celtic words in English, see *Oxford Dict.*, Skeat's *Etymolog. Dict.* (especially App. IV.) and *Princ. of Engl. Etymol.* I. 443 ff., Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd edition, I. 929.

[1] Still existing in some English dialects, and hard to distinguish from ð, as in the Castilian pronunciation of *Madrid*. For the final position, cf. *aforth = afford* (from the sixteenth century), *quod = quoth*. Most cases are within the word, especially near *r*. See especially *father* in the *Oxford Dictionary*, also Jespersen's *Mod. Engl. Grammar* (Heidelberg, 1909), I. 208–11. Other cases are *brother, fathom, feather, further, gather, hither, leather, mother, other, together, weather ; Bedlam, burden, fiddle, murder, rudder*, etc., etc. Just as *Penmarc'h* was written by some Englishmen *Penmark* instead of *Penmargh* (cf. *thurgh, burgh*), so *Kayrrud* instead of *Kayrruth*.

[2] *Tynemouth* becomes *Tinemuda* or *-us, Farthingstone* becomes *Fardingeston* (Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Series, VII. 232, VIII. 386). Thurles in Ireland is Latinized as *Durlus* (Graesse, *Orbis Latinus*).

[3] Kayrrud might simply have been the name of Arveragus' " castel " or " hous " (l. 1507). I have mentioned the sixteenth-century Château Kernu, called both castle and *Ker-*, and that *Ker* was often applied to such buildings. Kayrrud, indeed, might conceivably have been simply the remains of a Gallo-Roman *villa*, which word (< * *vicula*, a small village) often designated a considerable group of buildings, like Le Pérennou (cf. also Albert Grenier, *Habitations Gauloises et Villas Latines*, Paris, 1906, pp. 59, 123–4, 145, 159).

III.

THE ANCIENT SETTING.

HAVING learned that twentieth-century archæologists would confidently expect to find remains of Gallo-Roman habitations at a Kerru, one cannot but be much struck by the deliberately ancient air of the *Franklin's Tale.* I do not affirm that the two matters are connected. But the unexpectedness of the latter and interest of the subject justify consideration of it.

The ancient air appears first in the ancient proper names. The poem begins—

> In Armorik, that called is Britayne,[1]
> Ther was a knight.

Thus in the very second word Chaucer notifies us that he is writing of a time long past. For it is hardly necessary to prove that in the Middle Ages the cases of *Armorica* and its derivatives are always, or almost always, cases of conscious and scholarly archaism.[2] According to the chief historian of the country, while the words were always used before A.D. 460, after the fifth century *Britannia, Britanni, Britones* replace them.[3] In France and England the words regularly used are *Britannia*

[1] Cf. l. 1061, where, however, " Armorik Britayne " is called for by the mention of the insular Britain in l. 810. Phrases like this latter for early or even contemporary Brittany are not uncommon in learned writers, owing to the ambiguity of the noun : cf. " in Armoricana Britannia " (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brit.* VIII. 3), " in Armoricanam Britanniam " (Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Series, III. 166), " in mari Armoricanæ Britanniæ " (Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.,* Rolls Series, I. 364, and cf. 253, 403), " Britones Armorici " (*ibid.,* II. 259; *Ypodigma Neustriæ,* p. 403).

[2] Cf. the last note, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brit.* V. 12, 16, VI. 4, Lot in *Rom.* XXIV. 506, Zimmer in *Zt. frz. Spr.* XII. 240, XIII. 3; " the contre of Armoric, which be now called Litle Bretayn " (*Ponthus and Sidoine, Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XII. 9); the French version has *Armorique,* but four of the five MSS. grossly corrupt the unfamiliar word (cf. Vte. de la Lande de Calan in *Rev. de Bret.,* 1903, p. 40); " I will that this lond Armorican be callyd lytel britayn " (Caxton's *Chron. of Engl.* XLIX. 33); " in Armoricum regnum, id est, in minorem Britanniam " (Alanus de Insulis, in Ussher, *Works,* Dublin, 1847, VI. 39); "Armoriche fu Bretainne " (Wace, *Roman de Rou,* ed. Andresen, II. p. 30, l. 25); the short *Arthur* (E.E.T.S., 1864, ll. 505–18) says that *Bretayne* beyond the sea, formerly *Armoryk, Amorica,* was renamed by Maximian, in memory of *Grete Bretayne.* See also Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), index.

[3] De la Borderie, I. 248. Cf. the Breton cartulary of Redon, *Chronique de Nantes,* etc. P. le Baud's late-fifteenth-century history of Brittany sometimes has *Armorique,* however.

(*Minor*), *Britayne*, *Bretagne la Menour*, *Britayne the Less*, *Litle Britaine*, etc.[1]   Again, Arveragus dwells for a time

In Engelond, that cleped was eek Briteyne (810).[2]

As to the application of the word Britain in the Middle Ages, controversy has been waged with much *sæva indignatio*,[3] but all will agree that as a synonym for England it was as consciously archaic as *Armorica* for Brittany.   That Chaucer meant it so is shown by the past tense.   Again, the names of two of the three named characters, Arveragus and Aurelius, are Latin in form, and the second Latin in origin.[4]   In mediæval romantic poetry

[1] Cf. the last note but one, *Oxf. Dict.*, *Sire Degarre* (Abbotsford Club, 1849, ll. 7, 1051), *Launfal* (Ritson, II., l. 114), Rymer's *Fœdera*, Froissart's *Chroniques*, Ordericus Vitalis, Gregory of Tours, various works among the *Documents Inédits* and the publications of the Soc. de l'Hist. de France, the Soc. des Anc. Textes Franç., etc.

[2] More or less of a stock expression; cf. the lay of *Tyolet* (*Romania*, VIII. 41, ll. 2, 3), " Bretaingne . . . Qui Engleterre est apelée."   Gower says the astrological power of the moon falls especially on Germany, " and ek upon Bretaigne, Which nou is cleped Engelond " (*Conf. Am.* VII. 752–3).

[3] Paris in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXX. 3 (1888), Zimmer in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1890, 794 ff., and in *Zt. frz. Spr.* XII. 240–56 and XIII. 2, 3 (1890–1), Lot in *Romania*, XXIV. 497–513 (1895), and E. Brugger in *Zt. frz. Spr.* XX. 79–162, especially 83–6 (1898).   All agree that it is used for pre-Saxon Great Britain, for Brittany, and more or less (by learned writers, as an archaism) for Great Britain after the Saxon Conquest; opinions differ mainly as to whether it and its derivatives are ever applied simply to later mediæval Wales.   In support of Paris' and Lot's view that they were, I do not know that Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Chaucer's own usage have been quoted.   *Bryt-land* = Wales frequently in the eleventh century in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Rolls Ser., I. 324, 330–1, 355, 357).   *Bretland* = Wales in *Brennu Njálssaga* (dating from the thirteenth century, chaps. 89, 157, etc.; *Altnord. Saga-Bibl.*, Vol. XIII., Halle, 1908, pp. 203, 419, etc.).   *Brezkr* = Welsh, in *Fornmanna Sögur* (see Cleasby-Vigfusson).   Chaucer uses the words for Brittany and pre-Saxon Great Britain (cf. Skeat's Index of Names); but in *W.B.T.* 858, and even in *Frankl. Prol.* 709, 711, *Briton* cannot be proved not to mean or include the Welsh.   *Bret* (the Germanic equivalent) apparently means Welshman,—" And the Bret Glascurion " (*H.F.* 1208; cf. Child, *Engl. and Scotch Pop. Ball.* II. 136–7).   Does not this look as if Chaucer thought more of the racial unity of the Welsh and Bretons than of their geographical separation ?   Cf. also John of Salisbury's mention of Henry II.'s expedition against the Welsh of the Snowdon region,—" aduersus Niuicollinos Britones " (*Policraticus*, II. 27).   The little poem *Arthur* (E.E.T.S., 1864), has a very interesting passage; the author, who knows some Welsh (ll. 524–5) and may have Welsh sympathies, says—

> Walsch Men beþ Bretouns of kynde (519);
> There-fore þe walsch man Breton
> Seyþ & clepeþ vs " Sayson " (523–4).

[4] It is interesting, though hardly significant, that the pagans of Armorica seem to have been completely Latinized as to names and language.   De la Borderie (I. 146) finds but two with Gaulish names.

in general (except for the *matière de Rome*) Latin personal names are so unusual as to call for explanation, and in Chaucer's other works his practice is rather to modernize names which he finds in a Latin form.[1]

The second point is the pagan air of the poem.[2] Aurelius makes his heart-sick prayer " un-to the goddes " (1030), and first to Apollo, that he will pray his sister Lucina to raise the sea over the highest rocks;[3] he mentions the gods Neptune and Pluto (1047, 1075); and with a charmingly mediæval touch vows a barefoot pilgrimage to Apollo's temple in Delphos (1077).[4] In speaking of the Orleans clerk's book of natural magic, the Franklin scoffs at certain astrological ideas concerning the moon,

> and swich folye,
> As in our dayes is nat worth a flye;
> For holy chirches feith in our bileve
> Ne suffreth noon illusion us to greve (1131–4).

The Orleans clerk's occult observances are condemned as

> his japes and his wrecchednesse
> Of swich a supersticious cursednesse (1271–2);
> swiche illusiouns and swiche meschaunces
> As hethen folk used in thilke dayes (1292–3).

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[1] In the only others of Chaucer's poems where the names are Latin in form, either they are familiar names of gods or he is following Latin originals (and not always then). In the Physician's ancient and familiar tale, the ancient names are kept. The only case where he Latinizes modern names is the *Troilus*, where also he was conscious of the ancient setting, and *Troilo* and *Pandaro* were already familiar in a Latin form.

[2] Of course it has such contemporary traits as mediæval social conditions, the frequenting of the university of Orleans, and Dorigen's prayer to " Eterne god " (865). Professor Hart in *Haverford Essays*, p. 199, well points out this latter Christian touch as harmonious with Dorigen's goodness. Till the eighteenth century, ancient literary colouring meant adding the antique, not excluding the incongruous modern.

[3] Of course he chooses these deities because he is aware that the highest tides come when the sun and moon are in conjunction or opposition (1057–70).

[4] So in other poems with ancient settings : Progne feigns a pilgrimage to Bacchus' temple (*L.G.W.* 2375), Cupid swears by St. Venus his mother (*ibid.*, A, 313), Dido seeks " halwes " (1310), Lucrece is deemed a saint and her day hallowed (1870–1); Alcestis' daisy and the Trojan Palladium are relics (*ibid.*, B. 321 ; *Tr. and Cr.* I. 153; the latter also in Lydgate's *Troy Book*, IV. 5613, 5637). Elsewhere, the sacred furnishings of the temple at Jerusalem is called relics (*Cursor Mundi*, 8323; *Cleanness*, 1156, 1269). Of course such touches are found everywhere.

When the illusion has been produced, Aurelius returns thanks equally to the Orleans clerk and his own lady Venus,

> And to the temple his wey forth hath he holde,
> Wher-as he knew he sholde his lady see (1306–7).[1]

This paganizing of a mediæval theme is almost if not quite unparalleled,[2] and contrasts vividly with the usual mediævalizing of pagan themes. It is clear, then, that Chaucer took much pains to put the story back in Roman times, and in so doing showed an historical imagination rare in the Middle Ages outside Italy.

For we cannot think the ancient setting due to any source of the poem which we can imagine, certainly not to either of those that have been suggested. Professor Rajna [3] would trace the paganism to the story in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, which he considers the source of Chaucer's version; Tebano the wizard invokes Hecate, Ceres and the gods of the woods and night, and he and the lady both call on "gl' iddii." But this is mostly in the account of the magic hocus-pocus, taken almost word for word from Ovid,[4] and otherwise is only Boccaccio's habitually vague paganism in a vaguely timeless and almost placeless tale. It would be a feeble foundation for the more concrete paganism of the realist Chaucer, in a scene as well known to the English then as it is to-day. The masterly freedom of the *Franklin's Tale* forbids the thought of stupid copying. If Chaucer deliberately changed the scene and names in the story, and the nature

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[1] A temple is the scene of the first meeting between Troilus and Criseyde (I. 162 ff.), which of course is based on *Il Filostrato*, I. 19 ff. It has been noted that Boccaccio got the situation from Achilles' falling in love with Polyxena, as told by Guido or Benoît (*Rom. de Tr.* 17489 ff.; cf. *Romania*, XXVII. 451–3). Similarly Paris and Helen fall in love in a temple of Venus (*Rom. de Tr.* 4282–4367); and the first meeting of Æneas and Dido is in a temple (*Æneid*, I., and *Leg. of Good Women*). Boccaccio has a meeting with Fiammetta in a "temple" (San Lorenzo in Naples, *Filocolo*, I. 5), and the folk in the *Decameron* meet in a church. Doubtless churches in general, like St. Paul's Cathedral in particular, were common enough *rendezvous*, at a time when ladies did not go about freely.

[2] Of course there is nothing of the sort in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, also early Celtic in theme; in the *Merchant's Tale* Pluto and Proserpina have become simply the fairy king and queen, just as in other mediæval works they are attended by devils. The appearance of Bacchus as butler and Venus as a dancer (*Merch. T.* 1722–8) is simply humorous or imaginative embellishment.

[3] *Romania*, XXXI. 42. There is no paganism in the similar story in *Decam.* X. 5.

[4] Zingarelli, in *Romania*, XIV. 433–41.

and method of the prodigy wrought by the wizard, and greatly
developed the characterization, would he have troubled to
preserve and extend so trivial a matter ? It reduces the likeness
of the story to the Breton lays, the name and manner of which,
if his source was in Boccaccio, he deliberately gave it. And for
this reason too we cannot believe the ancient setting due to
the supposed lost Breton lay which Professor Schofield believes
to have been the source of the *Franklin's Tale*.[1] Though the
lays profess to be old stories, in none of those extant in French
or English do we find the word *Armorica*, or names in a Latin
form, or the slightest conscious paganism or ancient colouring.
Except for an occasional bit of late literary embellishment,
there is scarcely a trace of consciousness that the ancient world
had ever existed.[2]

The probable explanation is suggested by the railing passages
quoted above from the *Franklin's Tale*, and their resemblance to
a passage in the *Astrolabe*,[3] a work in which he was speaking
freely in his own person. After discussing fortunate and un-
fortunate ascendants and the lord of the ascendant, Chaucer
breaks out—

> Natheles, thise ben observauncez of judicial matiere and
> rytes of payens, in which my spirit ne hath no feith, ne no
> knowing of hir *horoscopum ;* for they seyn that every signe
> is departed in 3 evene parties by 10 degrees, and thilke
> porcioun they clepe a Face.

" Rites of pagans, in which my spirit hath no faith "—that is
just it. The passage expresses the same sense of the impiety
and nullity of at least some of the details of astrology as a means
of foretelling human lives that the passages in the *Franklin's
Tale* show toward it as a means of working the feats of magic in
Chaucer's own day. Does it not seem likely that, wishing to use
them because picturesque and indeed necessary, Chaucer put

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[1] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XVI. 405 ff. Marie's *Les Dous Amanz* begins—
Veritez est qu'en Neüstrie,
que nus apelum Normendie . . .
But the name Armorica had become old-fashioned centuries before Neustria
had.

[2] Though the *Franklin's Prologue* shows that he was aware of the early
origin of the Breton lays, they are manifestly Christian so far as they
are anything.

[3] Pt. II. ch. 4, toward the end; probably written not many years from
the time of the *Franklin's Tale*.

the whole tale back in pagan times that the Franklin might with the more propriety rail at such arts as heathenish, and might disavow serious approval of them, or faith in their efficacy, especially for an evil [1] purpose ?

To consider such a question one needs a good deal of background, which may be of value for its own sake, since the subject is interesting. In order to discuss intelligently Chaucer's attitude toward astrology,[2] it is necessary for us to distinguish three beliefs, closely connected, of course, and some of them mutually implied, and often confused by modern writers : first, that the heavenly bodies in general influence earthly affairs; second, that the future in detail can be foretold by them (judicial astrology); third, that by their help the skilful can produce actual visible effects (astrological magic). The first belief there can be no question Chaucer held. He assumes it constantly in his poetry.[3] Troilus sped the better in love because Venus

[1] Doubly so, involving the compassing of one sin by means of another (Dorigen's requirement being fulfilled only in show); perhaps even trebly so, involving a violation of nature on a grand scale. Chaucer might indeed have ascribed the marvel to the power of the pagan gods, but this would have made the poem still more un-Breton and have introduced a remoteness and unreality foreign to the later Chaucer (the modernized Pluto and Proserpina in *Merch. T.* and Apollo in *Manc. T.* are in satirical poems); he might have ascribed it to magic without the astrology, but the potent magic that he knew of was astrological, magic was in worse odour than astrology, and he habitually shows no great interest in the former and much in the latter. In any case he would have had the same reason for paganizing the poem. The unanalyzed fairy supernaturalism of some Breton lays would have so weakened the figure of the Orleans clerk as to make the poem totally different from what it is. Its ending requires that *he* shall have performed a difficult feat. Christian supernaturalism would have fitted still less. What remains except what the poet chose ?

[2] On this I have felt compelled to differ somewhat from Professor Lounsbury (*Studies in Chaucer*, II. 395, 497–500). On the mediæval attitude toward astrology and magic, cf. H. O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind* (1911), II. 374, 499; A. D. White, *Warfare of Science with Theology*, I. 381; Traill, *Social England* (1902), II. 108–15, 512–18; Lynn Thorndike, *Place of Magic in the Intell. Hist. of Europe* (Columbia dissertation, 1905); and especially H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, III. 409–549.

[3] I ignore cases where he is known to be merely translating, and where a character in a poem or tale is speaking. As to the individual *Canterbury Tales*, it is often impossible to tell whether Chaucer is expressing his own views or such as would befit the teller. From the Franklin, for whom this tale may well have been written, we should confidently expect orthodox and even conventional views, for he has risen and stands well in his community. Chaucer can certainly have been no more credulous than he. That Chaucer would have expressed himself with clearer incredulity and less piety had he been speaking in his own person would be hard to disprove; but there is not the smallest evidence for it, and the fact that he combines the two also in the *Astrolabe* suggests that he and his Franklin agreed.

was not unfavourable at his nativity, and at the time in question was well situated (*T.C.* II. 680–6). The heavens, under God, control us, we know not why; in this case the conjunction of the moon, Saturn and Jupiter in Cancer produce a violent rain, which determines Criseyde's destiny (*T. C.* III. 617–28). Hypermnestra derived her looks, character and fate from the planets (*L.G.W.* 2584–99); the fates of great men are written in the stars (*Kn. T.* 2033–8), and Saturn produces certain characteristic effects (2450–2 ff.); Damian's success in love may have been due to " constellacion " [1] (*Merch. T.* 1969); the children of Venus enjoy themselves when that planet is in its exaltation (*Sq. T.* 272–4). In this very tale " constellacioun " is mentioned as among the causes of human frailty (l. 781). But more than this, that coolly prosaic work the *Astrolabe* accepts such astrological notions as the properties of various planets and zodiacal signs (I. 21), the influence of each sign on a particular part of the human body (*ibid.*),[2] the presiding of each planet over certain hours of the day (II. 12), the (at least possible) general influence of the planets on man (I. 21). The work was to have included still more of astrology, such as the " dignities " of planets, and other *useful things* (*Prol.*, end). Would Chaucer have deliberately misled " lyte Lowys my sone " ? [3]

In holding this belief Chaucer agreed, of course, with most of the best thinkers and writers of his own day and two centuries before (as well as much earlier and much later); those cited are chosen for their distinction or for their connection with him. Roger Bacon,[4] one of the least orthodox and typical, is the largest

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[1] *I. e.*, in mediæval Latin and the vernaculars, the arrangement of the planets at any given time; cf. Isidor of Seville, *Etymol.* VIII. ix. 24.

[2] A belief condemned by Isidor of Seville, *Etymol.* III. xxvii.

[3] We cannot tell how much of all this was in the source. One cannot but query whether Chaucer's interest and studies in astrology in general (it is idle to collect more evidences of them) may not be connected with his lifelong interest in the question *why things happen*, the relation of free will, divine Providence, chance and destiny (cf. the writer in *Mod. Philol.* III. 370). John of Salisbury discusses astrology, free will and Providence together at great length (*Policr.* II. 19–26; ed. Webb, Vol. I. 107–43); other writers fully recognize the problematical connection between the subjects. A similar problem, that of the goodness of God and the existence of evil, Dorigen meditates on in this tale (ll. 865–93); cf. also *Kn. T.* 1303–33, *Mars*, 208–71, *T.C.* III. 1016–22.

[4] His *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges, London, 1900), Vol. I. pp. 238–69, 376–403) defends astrology and natural magic with learning and skill; and see *Opus Tertium* and *Opus Minus* (Rolls Ser., 1859), pp. 97–9, 106–7, 320–1.

believer among all these writers. The heavens emit not only signs but influences (p. 267). The differences among nations and individuals are due to different celestial influences, which are caused by the fact that no two points on earth have the same horizon; hence even twins may be unlike (138, 380). The " constellations," by affecting the body and the temperament, produce a tendency which may be offset by free will, grace or the devil (139, 249–50). Boccaccio says that human counsels are overcome by the forces of the heavens, and that it was the power of the planets which caused the ancients to regard Mars, Venus, etc., as deities; he accepts the belief of astrologers that through the influence of the heavenly bodies lower beings are produced and (unless reason and grace resist) guided, and that the ascendant at a human being's birth is especially potent.[1] The heavenly bodies without doubt influence us, through the powers given them by the Creator; he describes in great detail the opinion of astrologers on the characteristic influences of the planet Venus on human personality, declares that on these are based the personality of the goddess in ancient poetry, and argues that since God made nothing in vain the stars must exert an influence; and he believes that Mars cannot have been the son of Jupiter because the influences of the two planets are so different.[2] " There appears to be no doubt " that the heavens, planets and stars act powerfully on bodies below; to their ever-changing positions, conjunctions, etc., are due the differences among men and the careers for which their capacities fit them, for though reason and free will permit them to act counter to the influences of the heavens, this rarely happens in the choice of a career. Mars in the " house of Venus " (Taurus) at a person's nativity disposes him to be amorous.[3] Occasionally Boccaccio expresses doubt whether a specific thing is due to the heavens or to some other cause.[4] Dante believed thoroughly in the influence

[1] *Vita di Dante* (Moutier edition), pp. 29, 52, 81.

[2] *De Genealogiis Deorum,* Italian translation (Venice, 1585), pp. 52[vo], 146[vo], and cf. 14[vo], 53 f., *s.vv. Fama, Venere, Marte.*

[3] *Comento sopra Dante* (Moutier edition), I. 71–2, II. 55–6 (on *Inf.* I. and V.). Cf. the Wife of Bath's " Myn ascendent was Taur, and Mars therinne " (*W.B.P.* 613).

[4] As the destruction of Florence by Attila [*sic*], Dante's early suscepti-bility to love (*Vita,* 11, 18), the plague of 1348 (*Decam.,* I. Introd.). In explaining Brunetto Latini's words to Dante (*Inf.* XV. 55), " Se tu segui tua stella " as referring to the lord of the ascendant at Dante's birth, he opines that to a man of powers who by his free will uses them, success comes not from the stars but from the grace of God (*Comento,* III. 207–9).

of the stars on human character (*Purg.*, XXX. 109–11; *Par.*
VIII. 127–32, even twins may be unlike) and history (*Purg.*
XXXIII. 41), either purely by their own power or by God's
will (*Purg.* XVII. 17). In his view, they interfere neither
with divine Providence (being merely the channel through
which it acts, *Par.* VIII. 99), nor human free will (merely
initiating, and not determining, human action, perhaps not all,
Purg. XVI. 67–81). Beatrice tells him that the influence of
the planets is the reason why the ancients adored them as gods
(*Par.* IV. 58–63). Eustache Deschamps, Chaucer's literary
friend, declares in two *ballades* that the stars have the utmost
effect on all the affairs of the world, that our nature is easily
inclinable to their influence, and that were it not for free will
(which God denies to no one) they would irresistibly control the
bodies of men. Yet nothing is decreed by them which a living
creature cannot avert by foresight.[1] John Gower's mood is
usually so hortatory that he emphasizes man's freedom from
stellar compulsion. Our troubles and degeneracy are not the
fault of the stars, which some men blame; a single good man's
prayer can counteract all their evil influence. Since man is so
powerful, we need not fear the planets.[2] Yet these influences
will prevail unless hindered by prayer and miracle. All things
on earth, including what we call fortune and temperament, are
governed by the planets.[3] John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres,
not always an over-clear thinker and often following Isidor of
Seville, certainly held this belief. Would that the error of the
mathematici (meaning especially judicial astrologers) could be
removed from superior minds as easily as the demoniacal illusions
dealt in by soothsayers subside before true faith and a sound
conscience ! But they err more perilously because their error
is seen to be founded on natural truth and reason; for it seems
rash to every one to go counter to a law of nature, and foolish
to dissent causelessly from what reason persuades to. Starting
in truth, they end in the snare of falsehood. An allowable
mathĕsis, which nature points to and reason and experience
approve, is made a basis for an evil *mathēsis* (this distinction
is frequent). It is natural to believe there is some virtue in the
heavenly bodies, since on the earth, we believe, there is nothing

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[1] Nos. 372, 289 (*Soc. Anc. T. Franç.*, Vols. III. and II.).
[2] *Mirour de l'Omme*, 26701–60; *Conf. Am.*, Prol. 531 ff.
    Conf. Am. VII. 633 ff.

without some good function (the usual argument); therefore those who are a little too curious investigate stellar influence and by the rules of their astronomy strive to explain specific events on earth.[1]   The part of *Le Roman de la Rose* by Jean de Meun has much to say of stellar influence.   Though the stars are not master over reason and free will, they have great power over living creatures, and man's fate, and character.[2]   As will appear later, Petrarch, writing to encourage the rather superstitious and fearful Boccaccio, seems the most sceptical of all these writers as to the whole matter of astrology.   Yet even he appears to avoid utterly denying any influence of the " constellations." [3]   More than one text of *Piers Plowman* recognizes this influence.   Lunatic vagabonds are mad according as the moon sits (C, X. 107–8); Cain was conceived under a cursed constellation (A, X. 142; not in B or C).   Natural sense comes of the stars; sense and other gifts of fortune come from being born or begotten under a favourable constellation (C, XV. 30–2).   There could be no better spokesman for the Church than St. Thomas Aquinas, who had no doubt of the influence of the stars.   All substantial forms of lower bodies are by virtue of the heavenly bodies.   The farther planets (and their conjunctions, according to astrologers) produce more permanent and universal effects than the nearer.[4]   The heavenly bodies not merely signify, but cause, events.   Two kinds of events are withheld from their causation—coincidences (in nature or human affairs) and acts of free will.   Through the human body and its *vires sensitivas* they may affect, but not compel, action; man by reason may act counter to their influence.[5]

[1] *Policraticus* (ed. Webb, Oxford, 1909), II. 18 and 19; Vol. I. pp. 101–2, 107.   The work has a long passage (Vol. I. 46–169) on all sorts of culpable occult arts.   The bishop's purpose is to minimize, but not to deny, the influence of the stars.

[2] Marteau's edition, ll. 17787, 18215–66; 17783, 18197–226, 19225–50.

[3] *Lettere Senili*, Bk. III. No. 1 (Fracassetti's Italian transl., Florence, 1869; Vol. I. pp. 144, 150–1) : " Se l' aere . . . corrotto, se, come a taluno piace di dire, qualche ignota costellazione a noi nemica è cagione di tanto danno ai mortali, allora il danno avrà fine."   There is curious irony in the fact that, because he was a student of Virgil, Petrarch was accused by a cardinal, afterwards Pope Innocent VI., of being a necromancer, an accusation which greatly troubled him and was widely believed (*ibid.* I. 2 and 4; *Lett. Famil.* IX. 5).

[4] *De Cælo et Mundo*, II. 10, 12, II. 18, 11, II. 19, 4 (*Opera Omnia*, Rome, 1882–1906; Vol. III. 159, 194, 198); cf. *Summa Theol.*, II. ii. 96, 2 (Vol. IX. 332).

[5] *Summa Theologiæ*, II. ii. Q. 95, art. 5 (Vol. IX. 319–20).

The belief that man can learn of his own future from the stars Chaucer expresses, for poetic purposes at least, in the *Man of Law's Tale* : in that large book of the heavens is written, clearer than glass, the death of every man, but man's wits are too dull to read it fully (190–203); by astrological data, described in great and imposing detail, a time unfavourable for an enterprise can be learned, especially by folk of high station and when their horoscopes have been cast (295–315). In the *Astrolabe* it is only after a long and technical account for little Lewis' benefit of what astrologers say about the ascendant, and when it is fortunate or unfortunate of the lord of the ascendant, and of their connection with " nativities " and " elections of times " (II. 4), that Chaucer breaks out against " rites of pagans," objecting to the division of each sign into three faces. This passage shows, roughly speaking, that when he wrote it he disbelieved in and disapproved of judicial astrology, that part of the pseudo-science which undertook to answer specific questions as to the future. He may have changed his views in the course of his life. Yet it would be very risky to assert that at any time he had no belief whatever in any of its claims. The passages cited under the first head, from Chaucer and other writers, imply a good deal of this second belief.

Peter Abelard, arguing that it is legitimate to know what it may be bad to do, condemns but does not deny the reality of judicial astrology : " That science which is called *mathematica*, the exercise of which is nefarious, is not to be thought evil." [1] According to Roger Bacon, astrological forecasts are not certain but probable, rather general than particular, and depend on the divine will (pp. 242, 246, 251–3). Yet sickness and death can be foretold for a man whose nativity has been figured (251); and also his moral acts, though without certainty (252). The early saints allowed some foresight to astrology and condemned only the attributing of compulsion to the stars and infallibility to predictions (246–7), and later theologians have erred in their sweeping condemnation (248). Boccaccio clearly implies that something can be foretold as to human life in what he says as to the effects of the planets, the influence of Venus and Mars, and the ascen-

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[1] *Dialectica*, IV. Prol. (*Ouvrages Inédits*, ed. Cousin, p. 435); referred to in Dr. Taylor's *Mediæval Mind*.

dant.[1] He seems to have thoroughly believed in astrology. Dante
implies that the general course of a career can be foreseen when
Brunetto Latini declares that he will come to glory, " se tu segui
tua stella." [2]   He condemns the judicial astrologer Guido Bonatti
to hell (*Inf.* XX. 118) ; since the diviners are among the fraudulent,
this indicates some disbelief in as well as orthodox disapproval of
astrologers.   According to Deschamps, knowledge of the stars
enables the wise to shun their influence.   But it is impious to
inquire of the future in detail from astrology, and many of those
who have done so have been punished by God.[3] Gower clearly
implies that something can be learned of the future through the
stars, but condemns judicial astrology.[4] John of Salisbury
allows astrology some power to forecast natural events, and
does not seem sure, probably was very far from sure, that there
is nothing in the regular judicial astrology.   But while admitting
that before Christ it had been genuine (p. 53), he argues against
its actuality and strongly condemns it as impious.   *Mathematici*,
a term which includes most workers in the occult, means espe-
cially those who foretell the future by the stars, whose error is
followed by the calculators of nativities.   There is a noble and
glorious science of astronomy, if it keeps within the bounds of
moderation ; but if it goes beyond, it is a snare of impiety rather
than a species of philosophy.   There is much common to *mathesis
doctrinalis* and *mathesis divinatoria*, but when divination exceeds
the measure of sobriety it does not instruct, but misleads, its
professor.[5] The *mathesis* which foretells the future invades the
prerogatives of God.   If the *mathematici* were content with the
allowable or doctrinal *mathesis*, they might by their signs with
sober erudition forecast the quality of the seasons.   But when
they make broad their phylacteries and enlarge the borders of
their garments in ascribing too much virtue to the stars, they
insult the Creator.   They attribute everything to their constel-

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[1] *Vita*, pp. 52, 81; *Genealogiis*, 52[vo] ff., 146[vo]; *Comento*, II. 55-6, III. 207-9.

[2] *Inf.* XV. 55-7, referring to the lord of his ascendant (Boccaccio's *Comento*) or to the sign Gemini in his ascendant (*Anonimo Comento*). Cf. also *Par.* IV. 58-63.

[3] Nos. 372, 1361 (Vols. III., VII.).

[4] *Conf. Am.* VI. 1338-59, VII. 633 ff.

[5] *Policr.* II. 19 (Webb, Vol. I. p. 107).   *Aruspices* declare favourable hours for actions, but their error is condemned by the Apostle (Bk. I. 12); so he censures what Chaucer accepts for the *Man of Law's Tale*.

lations, and would destroy human free will (II. 19). The more
moderate of the astrologers say that God has deputed some of
His power to the stars, which give signs of the future; " pro-
babilia quidem sunt hæc quæ proponunt," but poison lurks
under the honey, for it still invades divine Providence and
human free will (Bk. II. 19, 20). Again, the more moderate
say the stars do not cause what happens, but because it is to
happen they show it. But here follows a dilemma. If the
future may be changed, it is audacious to foretell it; if not, it
is useless. Further, their signs are uncertain and ambiguous
(II. 24). This *mathesis* is condemned by Augustine, Gregory
and the whole Catholic Church. Finally, the author has known
many of its professors, and remembers none who remained so
for long without receiving condign punishment from the hand
of the Lord (II. 26).[1] Petrarch, writing to Boccaccio, has nothing
but wrath and scorn for astrology and its professors as claiming
to foretell human events; it ignores both Providence and free
will, and a fulfilment of its predictions is due to chance.[2] Yet
he admits it may foretell weather.[3] According to *Piers Plowman*,
Saturn warns of famine and flood, shipmen and shepherds
formerly predicted weather by the stars, and it is a sign of
degenerate times that astronomers now fail in their predictions.[4]
Astrology and other occult arts are hard to understand and are
better left alone, because they are closely connected with sorcery
(which the writer believes in).[5] Jean de Meun in *Le Roman
de la Rose* grants that men may know of calamities in advance

[1] I have quoted John of Salisbury (with his portentous style) at some
length because he is especially characteristic, and of all these writers none
seems more likely to have influenced Chaucer's view of the subject (on
which see later). On his knowledge of the bishop, see Lounsbury, *Studies
in Chaucer*, II. 362–4, Flügel in *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, I. 132,
and Lowes in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXV. 87–9, who perhaps have not exhausted
the evidence.
[2] *Lett. Sen.* III. 1, VIII. 1, 8 (Fracassetti, I. 142, 144, 147, 150–1, 442,
494). Perhaps I should add that, according to Richard Rolle, the first
commandment forbids giving belief to sorcery, and to divination by the stars
or dreams or any such thing (ed. Horstmann, I. 195).
[3] P. 144.
[4] A, VII. 311; B, VI. 327; C, IX. 348; C, XVIII. 94–106; B, XV. 349–64.
[5] A, XI. 152–9; cf. B. So acute a critic as Professor Manly feels such
an inconsistency between this passage and that from C, XV., quoted earlier,
that he puts them among arguments for differences of authorship among
the A, B and C texts (*Mod. Philol.* VII. 126). In view of the distinction
I am making, and supporting by various authorities, between belief in
stellar influences and belief in or approval of judicial astrology, may it
not be more than doubted if this inconsistency exists ?

by knowing the various positions of the heavenly bodies, but
the latter foretell the deaths of princes no more than of other
men.[1]   According to St. Thomas, that wonderful clear-headed
man in an age of muddy-mindedness, many natural and human
events can be foretold by the stars, but the latter must not.
Astrologers foretell rain and drought with probability, and quite
legitimately.[2]   It is a false and vain opinion that fortuitous
events or deliberate human acts can be foretold by the stars.
But the predictions of astrologers often succeed because : (1)
many men (only the wise are not) are led by their physical
passions, which are influenced by the heavenly bodies, and
therefore *communes eventus*, which depend on the multitude,
can be foreseen; (2) demons help the astrologers.   For this
latter reason their art is superstitious and is forbidden.[3]

The third belief is that in astrological magic.[4]   Chaucer
speaks of it, with no implied doubt or censure, and especially
of the making of astrological images to cure the sick, in the
House of Fame (1259–70) and the *Prologue* (414–18).   The chief
other passages are those already quoted from the *Franklin's
Tale*.[5]   He evidently, like other mediævals, drew no clear line
between what we should call magic, and juggling or legerdemain,
most people not knowing how either was performed; [6] both

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[1] 18388–94, 19279–81 (Marteau).   So he is more democratic than Chaucer
in the *Man of Law's Tale*.

[2] *Summa*, II. ii. Q. 85; *De Superstitione Divinativa*, art. 1 (Vol. IX.
311–12).

[3] *Ibid.* art. 5 (pp. 319–21).

[4] Of two kinds : natural magic, supposed to depend merely on the more
mysterious emanations of nature, man or God ; and necromancy, which
involved the aid of angels or demons.   Of course there was much vagueness
and disagreement about them.   The latter was condemned by everybody,
the former not.   It is not entirely clear which Chaucer attributes to the
Orleans clerk (cf. my article, *Astrology and Magic in Chaucer's Franklin's
Tale*, in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, Boston, 1913; p. 349); he may
not have carried his analysis so far as to have decided, or distaste for
necromancy may have led him to gloss it over.

[5] I might refer also to the remarks of some of the characters in *Sq. T.*
129–31, 247–51 on the magic horse and ring.

[6] See *H.F.* 1259–81, *Sq. T.* 217–19, *Frankl. T.* 1138–51, 1264–9.   *Præs-
tigiare = incantare* (Ducange).   Cf. John of Salisbury, I. 9 (Vol. I. 49),
and Bacon, p. 241.   But Reginald Scot's *Discouerie of Witchcraft* (1584)
makes the distinction clear (pp. 307, 311).   On the production of illusions,
something like those which Chaucer mentions, by magic and by glasses (cf.
Sq. T. 228–30), see Scot, pp. 315–17.   " Colle tregetour," by the way, whom
Chaucer in Fame's house saw carry a windmill under a walnut-shell (*H.F.*
1277–81), seems to have been identified by none of the commentators.   There-
fore we may note a suggestion of M. Loth's (*Les Mabinogion*, in d'Arbois
de Jubainville's *Cours de Litt. Celt.*, IV. 248).   Koll (Coll ap Collfrewi) was

were suspect, and he who could do the less might be able to do
the greater. As to how far he believed in the actuality of what
we call magic, it is a little harder to be sure. Most of the pas-
sages referred to suggest belief rather than the reverse. In the
Franklin's Tale, which involves grave and somewhat maleficent
magic, the attitude indicated toward magic, and astrology as
its coadjutor, is one of strong indignation and contempt, combined
with scepticism so far as the speaker's own time is concerned; but
in antiquity magic is represented, for the purposes of the fiction
at least, as efficacious and not disreputable, and there is not
the smallest reason to doubt that Chaucer may have really
believed this.[1] Considering everything Chaucer says, and the
general resemblance of his language to that of others, it is very
unsafe, to say the least, to read clear and total disbelief into the
passages in the *Franklin's Tale*, which more clearly express
distaste.

Among other mediæval writers the fact that magic is less often
touched on than astrology is doubtless due to its more suspicious
character and its greater remoteness from ordinary life, probably
not to greater scepticism about it. Belief in the actuality of
both was perfectly harmonious with Catholic theology, and

one of the three principal magicians of the Isle of Britain, according to a
Welsh triad in MS. Hengwrt 536, published by Skene (Loth, p. 256), and
was taught magic by Ruddlwm Gor (according to another triad, Loth,
p. 229); he was also a culture-hero, who first brought wheat and barley
to Britain (cf. *Iolo MSS.*, Welsh MSS. Soc., Llandovery, 1848, pp. 263, 670,
and another triad in Loth, p. 290), and held the less exalted station of one
of the three swineherds of the Isle of Britain (another triad, Loth, 247–8).
Only a little above (l. 1208) Chaucer mentions "the Bret Glascurion"
among harpers. And we may note Kittredge's evidence for Chaucer's
acquaintance with Lewis Johan, a London Welshman (*Publ. Mod. Lang.
Assoc.* XVI. 450–2). If, as is not impossible, Chaucer is referring to a
familiar London character, the latter may have taken the name of the
Welsh celebrity.
[1] Cf. the ecclesiastical writers cited on p. 35 below, and the modern
orthodox Protestant view of miracles. A somewhat false impression of
intellectual superciliousness may be drawn by a modern from Chaucer's
word *supersticious* (l. 1272) applied to the clerk's acts. It hardly contains,
like the modern word, the idea of *unreality*, it means something not so
much despicable as shocking. According to St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa*
(II. ii. 92, art. 1; Vol. IX. 298), *superstitio* means "religio supra modum
servata," "exhibet cultum divinum vel cui non debet, vel eo modo quo non
debet." Cf. the antithesis between "uanam prorsus ac falsam" and
"superstitiosam" in the sixteenth-century defence of astrology prefixed
to Joannes Hispalensis' *Epitome totius Astrologiæ* (sig. A 2vo). The use
of the word is like the charge of idolatry made against astrological magicians
by both early and late writers, due to the paying of ritual honours to creatures
or to evil spirits.

belief in magic was required by a fully believed Bible. Roger
Bacon believes in and commends the use of natural magic.
One use of *astrologia practica* is *ad opera miranda* to produce
good and repress evil (p. 110); characters, images and charms
are allowable, and are efficacious because they store up the
mysterious powers of the stars and of the human spirit (395–7).
What is condemned, evil magic, is the use of these forces to work
evil, or of silly meaningless things and words, or of consciously
fraudulent legerdemain, of darkness and confederates, or of the
help of demons. This is cursed and unphilosophical (pp. 240–1,
395–6).[1] Dante puts among the damned diviners the astrologer
Michael Scott, " che veramente Delle magiche frode seppe il
gioco " (*Inf.* XX. 115–17); this seems to indicate disbelief in
some magicians, but not necessarily in magic. John of Salisbury
believes in and censures these arts. The producers of the more
harmful illusions (*præstigia*) and practisers of magic arts were
condemned by the early Fathers because they wrought by the
aid of demons. *Præstigium*, so-called because it dazzles or de-
ludes (*præstringat*) the eyesight, is said to have been invented
by Mercury, the most skilful of magicians, who could make
invisible, or transform, whatever he would. All the illusions
of *mathēsis* are of the nature of magic. Magicians by God's
permission agitate the elements, deprive things of their natural
appearance, foretell the future, etc.[2] The *mathematici* say they
can make a human image which by stellar influence receives
life and utters hidden truths; when such an image utters virtue
and piety, this is most certainly a wile of a malign spirit to
deceive the unwary.[3] St. Thomas believes in and condemns
præstigium (such as causing demons to appear for divination).[4]
Astrological images, for curing or for other purposes, if they
bear inscriptions (as they must, to be efficacious), derive their
power not from the heavenly bodies, but from a tacit compact
with demons. They are superstitious, and are forbidden. This
applies to all " observationes ordinatæ ad corporum immuta-

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[1] In some of the above exceedingly interesting passages in Bacon, one
almost fancies himself reading an exposure of modern spiritualism.
According to Bale, Bacon wrote a work " Contra necromanticos."

[2] *Policr.* I. 9, 10 (Vol. I. 49–50).

[3] *Policr.* II. 19 (Vol. I. 111–13).

[4] *Summa*, II. ii, 95, 3 (Vol. IX. 315). Of course he believes in witchcraft
(Vol. XII., supplement, p. 117).

tionem." A natural magic which has no dependence on demons he does not condemn.[1]

Now let us see whether Chaucer stands out much against his background. As to the first of the three astrological beliefs I have distinguished, he is at one with his contemporaries and predecessors; he shows even more faith than John of Salisbury and Petrarch. As to the second, he shows no more scepticism than most. As to the third, his attitude has more appearance of scepticism, because, while scoffing as others do at trickery, japes and jugglery, he does not mention the possibility that feats fraudulently ascribed to magic may really be done by demonic aid. It is unlikely that he was really unusually sceptical. The soundest conclusion as to Chaucer's feeling toward the whole subject of astrology and its arts is about this. He was greatly interested and in general believed there was a good deal in it, though his view probably varied from time to time; as to some of its applications in his own day he was sceptical and strongly disapproving. He believed more or less in astrology and magic ;

[1] *Ibid.*, Q. 96, art. 2 (Vol. IX. 331–2). A few points may be added on astrological images. According to the *Speculum Astronomicum* by (?) Albertus Magnus (see *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Græcorum*, Brussels, 1898–1906, Vol. V. pt. i. pp. 98–104), the worst kind of astrological images, " abominable," are used with suffumigations and invocations; a less evil, but still " detestable," merely bear inscriptions; the innocent kind derive all their virtue from the heavens. The author describes how, by such an image made under the right celestial conditions and buried properly, crops may be destroyed. He seems to regard this as quite harmless ! On the use of these images to treat the sick, cf. Bacon, *Op. Maj.* I. p. 396 and elsewhere; del Rio, *Disquis. Magic.* (Mainz, 1606) I. 30–31 ; etc. Bacon enlightens some passages in the description of the Physician in the *Prologue.* He laments that most physicians are ignorant of astrology and so neglect the better part of medical art (I. 251); not so Chaucer's Physician (*Prol.* 414). They pay no heed to the virtues of various hours except in relation to the heat of the sun (p. 383); not so Chaucer's (ll. 415–16). Haly and Avicenna teach the need of astrology by medical men (387, 396); hence doubtless, in part, the Physician's esteem for them (431–2). Chaucer's dry remark that " His studie was but litel on the bible " (438) probably reflects the hostility between the Church and this kind of medical art, shown in Bacon and St. Thomas. Chaucer's picture is also satirical so far as it shows the Physician's sly avarice. But in what he says of his learning and skill there is not the smallest sign of satire. It should be added that in the fourteenth century a knowledge of astrology seems to have been somewhat oftener recognized as important to a physician (Lea, *Inquis. of the Middle Ages*, III. 440 ; Traill, *Soc. Engl.* II. 122). In the *Parson's Tale*, 607, after denouncing in a pious vein various means of divination, Chaucer admits that charms for wounds or sickness (such as are used by the wounded in the *Knight's Tale*, 2712) may be allowed virtue by God; the passage is not in his source so far as found by Miss K. O. Petersen (*Sources of the Parson's Tale*, p. 54).

he disbelieved on the whole in astrologers and magicians.   If
not a very precise this is a very human attitude, and was shared
by many of his contemporaries.[1]

[1] We may compare the attitude of Browning's Mr. Sludge, and of other
more distinguished people, toward spiritualism and " mental healing."   Some
mediæval writers did not know how far they did believe in contemporary
magic and judicial astrology ; in the same breath they scoff at fraud and
denounce commerce with demons.   The fact is that some of them felt not so
much indignant scorn as a fearful horror which made them hide their faces
in Mother Church's vesture ; the voice which declares there is nothing in
these arts trembles a little.   The Middle Ages drew no sharp line between
the natural and supernatural, nor did they feel the imperious intellectual
necessity which we feel of dividing things into the true and the false, but
rather an imperious moral necessity, which we feel much less, of dividing
things into the good and the bad.   There may very well have been a little
of all this in Chaucer's attitude, who after all was a man of the fourteenth
century, not a kind of twentieth-century Ovid exiled among mediæval
Scythians.   Early Christian writers were both more severe and more
sceptical, doubtless because of the association of the occult with paganism ;
here may be mentioned Tertullian, Isidor (one of the most influential on
mediæval thought), and St. Augustine (*De Genesi ad litteram*, II. 16, 35–7,
in Migne's *Patr. Lat.* Vol. XXXIV. : when astrologers foretell aright, it is
by *instinctu quodam occultissimo*, and when men are deceived thereby, it
is by the help of seducing spirits).   On the Fathers' attitude toward astrology
and magic, cf. A. Maury, *L'Astrologie et la Magie*, pp. 104 ff.   It is not a
little curious to note how closely Chaucer's damnatory language about these
allied arts agrees with that of ecclesiastical writers, though naturally showing
more vivacious levity.   For Chaucer, the minutiæ of judicial astrology and
magic are rites of pagans and illusions and " meschaunces " of heathen
folk ; similarly John of Salisbury and others.   Notions about the mansions
of the moon and such folly are not worth a fly ; the masculine and feminine
signs of the Zodiac might have offspring were they not held apart !   (John
of Salisbury, p. 108) ; the astrologers rush most perniciously into the lies
of error and impiety (p. 111), and reach such insanity as to make supposed
soothsaying images (112).   Holy Church saves us from such illusions
(*Frankl. T.* 1134, 1264, 1292) ; the devilish illusions of soothsaying subside
before the true faith and a sound conscience (J. of S., p. 101) ; necromancy
is the trickery of cozening demons who delude human perfidy (p. 51) ;
the Catholic Church detests and punishes this vanity (p. 142).   The clerk's
arts are japes and wretchedness (*Fr. T.* 1271) ; magic arts, etc., often tell
the truth with the sole purpose of deceiving (J. of S., p. 49), and on the
frauds of some *mathematici*, cf. even Bacon (pp. 240–1, 247).   The clerk's
arts are superstitious cursedness (l. 1272) ; astrologers who ignore free will
are superstitious (Bacon, p. 247) ; all divination is superstitious so far as
it depends on demons (Th. Aq., *Summa*, II. ii. 92, 2) ; all astrology is super-
stitious, even forecasting men's characters and assigning the zodiacal signs
to various parts of the human body (Isidor of Seville, *Etymol.* III. xxvii.).
I have shown above that the word *superstitious* implies not so much scepti-
cism as orthodoxy.   All this is of interest in connection with attempts
to confirm the idea that Chaucer may have been a pronounced sceptic
religiously, by showing that he was remarkably sceptical in other matters.
It is to be noted that as to astrology he was hardly if at all more doubtful
than most authorities of his day ; that in every one of the passages where
he flouts astrologic arts he uses religious language, denounces them as pagan,
and takes refuge under the wing of Holy Church, just as he does in the case
of other means of divination and curing (*Pars. T.* 605–7, a passage not in
his source so far as known ; Pandarus speaks of such things less piously,
Tr. and Cr. V. 379–85) ; that these passages are no more an argument for

These writers quoted are speaking of judicial astrology and magic in their own day. Between the two there was no sharp distinction; both were closely associated.[1] But there was the best of authority for believing that in ancient times judicial astrology was not to be scouted or condemned. Tertullian says : "At enim scientia illa usque ad Evangelium fuit concessa, ut Christo edito nemo exinde nativitatem alicujus de cælo interpretetur."[2] Isidor of Seville borrows this, with slight verbal changes.[3] John of Salisbury says : "Viguit autem ista scientia, et forte eam aliquatenus licuit exerceri, donec Deum natum nuntiauit stella de celo, magosque non reprobos primitias fidei ad eum adorandum nouo et inaudito ducatu perduxit. Exinde uero penitus interdicta est."[4] Very probably Chaucer knew this passage.

Now all this points to a probable reason why Chaucer so surprisingly and elaborately set the *Franklin's Tale* back in heathen times. He needed magic and the more questionable astrology. He even saw fit to make fuller and more exact use of them than in almost any other of his poems, for in his detail there is much that may escape any but a very careful eye.[5] But toward the shady professors of such arts in his own day, and their hocuspocus, he felt the disapproval of a good Christian, the distaste of a man of the world, the intolerance of one familiar with the supposed basis of their art, and perhaps the caution of one who

scepticism than they are for piety; that there is not the smallest evidence or probability that he was ironical in his religious language (as the Wife of Bath is when she says the fairies who used to swarm in the land have been driven away by the holy friars); and that his ideas and even at times his language are those of the Bishop of Chartres and the Angelic Doctor.

[1] "Scimus magiæ et astrologiæ inter se societatem. . . . Magia punitur, cujus est species astrologia " (Tertullian, *De Idololatria*, cap. ix., in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* I. 747–9). Bacon (*Op. Maj.* I. p. 240) quotes from Isidor the statement that magic is a part of " astronomia "; he recognizes five kinds of *ars magica*—" mantice, mathematica [judicial astrology], maleficium, præstigium, sortilegium " (*ibid.* and *Opus Tertium*, pp. 269–70). Ducange defines *mathematicus* as *magus*, *mathematici* as *genethliaci*. The Franklin speaks of making illusion " By swich an apparence or *jogelrye*,—I ne can no termes of *astrologye* " (1265–6). It is diverting and very characteristic that just after these lines Chaucer shows more knowledge of the terms of astrology than anywhere else in his poetry.

[2] *De Idololatria*, cap. ix. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* I. 748).

[3] *Etymologiæ*, VIII. ix. 26.

[4] *Policraticus*, I. 12 (ed. Webb, Vol. I. 53). He probably got the idea from Isidor (so Webb, who cites the latter and Tertullian).

[5] On this see my article, already cited, in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 341–9.

must not be suspected of dabbling in it.[1]   But in ancient times
literary artifice allowed him to imagine anything, and he had
the authority of Tertullian, Isidor of Seville and John of Salis-
bury for holding that then " mathematical " science was genuine
and not wholly illicit.   Thus without violence to his convictions,
feelings, experience and reputation he avoided marring the noble
temper of the poem by representing one of its chief characters,
one of the three rivals in magnanimity, as a shabby and knavish
déclassé.[2]   At the same time he could express the incredulity

[1] Roger Bacon says (I. 394) that scarcely any one dare speak openly of
the making of astrological images and the like for fear of being called a
magician.   The archdeacon in the *Friar's Tale* (1303) did bold execution
against witchcraft.   I have mentioned above (p. 26, n.), Petrarch's vexation
at being accused of necromancy.   But in England in Chaucer's day the
practice of magic, unless of maleficent sorcery or witchcraft, seems to
have involved little danger from the civil and ecclesiastical law.   See
Traill, *Social England*, II. 113, 512, 518; Pollock and Maitland, *History
of English Law* (2nd edition), II. 549, 552–5; F. S. Merryweather,
Glimmerings in the Dark (London, 1850), 76 ff., 104; Lea, *Inquisition
of the Middle Ages*, III. 423, 427, 429, 433–6, 467; Sir J. F. Stephen,
History of the Criminal Law of England, II. 410, 431.   It is interesting
that Boccaccio, in his versions of the story, seems to betray much
the same attitude as Chaucer's towards heathenism and forbidden arts.
In the *Filocolo* version, vaguely early and pagan, he does not scruple
to borrow Medea's magic rites and pagan invocations from Ovid; in
the *Decameron* version, told by a supposed contemporary of his own
and set in Friuli, he merely says that the feat was wrought by necro-
mantic art and omits all detail (partly, doubtless, because the passage
in the *Filocolo* was too long).   But Chaucer characteristically is both more
concrete and more wary.   The above is far from being the only case where
Chaucer deprecates misunderstanding and criticism and being taken too
seriously; cf. *L.G.W.*, B 188–96 (A 71–80), *Can. Y.T.* 992₅1011, and the
apologies for coarseness in *Prol.*, *Mill. Prol.*, *Merch. T.* and *Manc. T.*
He shows a similar nice care for his literary reputation in *T.C.* V. 1793–8,
the *Words to Adam*, *Pard. T.* 585 and *Kn. T.* 2062–4.—This last is a par-
ticularly curious passage,

> Ther saugh I Dane, y-turned til a tree,
> I mene nat the goddesse Diane,
> But Penneus doughter, which that highte Dane.

This was evidently prompted by an annoyed memory of a miswriting
of *Diane* for *Dane* in *T.C.* III. 726 (" whan Dane hir-selven shette," the
only other occurrence of the name in his works).   The miswriting really
occurs in MS. Harl. 3943.   Adam is caught at it !   But he had better not
do it again !   Here is a bit of fresh evidence for the priority of the *Troilus*
to the *Palamon and Arcite ;* cf. my *Devel. and Chronol. of Chaucer's Works*
(Chaucer Soc.), ch. III. § 3.   A scribe does do it again, however, in the
Kn. T. passage (MS. Hl 7334).
[2] Even the fiend in the *Friar's Tale* (1467) sneers at " a lousy jogelour."
On the astute and admirable character of the Orleans clerk cf. my article
in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 340–1.   But pagan though he is, his
art is one to be quiet about (*Frankl. T.* 1128, 1119–22).

and disgust he felt for such arts in his own day,[1] without as it were sawing off the bough on which he was sitting. The strong feeling he shows against the occult arts every time he mentions them in this tale is a ground for thinking he would have taken trouble to avert the suspicion that he accepted them in his own day; yet he could not have set the tale in Christian times without either accepting them, disavowing them in a way to spoil the fiction, or debasing one of his best characters.

The length of this discourse on the ancient setting of the *Franklin's Tale* will be forgiven, perhaps, for the curious interest and even romance of the subject. As to a possible connection between it and the antiquity implied in the name Kayrrud, if we are to believe Breton archæologists, of course this may be a mere coincidence; a rather strange one, though, for out of thousands of Breton place-names examined but two Kerru's have been found, and none near the scene of the poem. The paganism of the poem is so remarkable and otherwise so naturally accounted for that we could not believe it due to an original localizing of the story at Kayrrud, even if this were likely otherwise. Is it conceivable that the name Kayrrud was selected because it was known to be in keeping with the ancient setting? Hardly any one but Chaucer could be thought to have done thus. Without some well-grounded view as to the source and history of the story, this matter must be left in the air.

IV.

DORIGEN.

ANOTHER proper name in the *Franklin's Tale* besides Kayrrud is doubtless Breton. For an explanation of Dorigen's name it seems unnecessary to resort, as Professor Rajna does, to Greek.[2] Similar names are to be found many times in Breton history and topography. Tyrwhitt seems to have been mistaken, it is true,

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[1] He had done a similar thing at the end of the *Troilus* (V. 1835–55), preaching down the carnal passion and the paganism of which the poem is full.

[2] *Romania*, XXXI. 41, XXXII. 234 (δῶρον or δόρυ). It is impossible to imagine where Chaucer could have got such a Hellenized name. On her name cf. also Tyrwhitt and Lot (below), and Schofield (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XVI. 414–16).

in naming the wife of Alain I. of Brittany (reigned 888–907)
Droguen or Dorguen, for in various documents of his time her
name is Oreguen, Ohurguen, Orgain, Ohurgon.[1] But it is more
to the point that mediæval texts sometimes call her Dorguen or
Droguen.[2] The latter is still found as a place-name. On the
modern map is a Kerdroguen a little east of Auray (Morbihan),
and another 20–25 km. N.E. in the commune of St. Jean-Brévelay,
and near by is a sixteenth-century pilgrimage chapel, N.-D.-de-
Kerdroguen.[3] The name is found at sea as well as on land.
The French Admiralty chart shows 4 km. S.S.E. of Concarneau
(35 km. E. of Penmarch Point), about $1\frac{1}{2}$ km. from shore, a
group of nine smallish rocks called *Men du an droguen* (Black
Rock of the Droguen, whatever that may be). Finally, curiously
enough, the name is found among the Rochers de Penmarch
themselves. On the Admiralty chart one of the groups of rocks
is called *Les Fourches*, 3 km. south of Guilvinec; the largest of
the rocks is called *Droguen*, at the lowest tide 105×50 metres
and rising 4 m. above low water. I have learned nothing of the
history of the rock and its name.[4] All these four place-names
are within 100 miles or less of Penmarch Point, and in a part
of Brittany full of the English during the Hundred Years War.[5]

[1] Similarly Lot in *Le Moyen Age*, 1902, p. 111. Cf. de la Borderie, *Hist.
de Bret.* II. 344; *Chronique de Nantes* (ed. Merlet, Paris, 1896), pp. 70, 75,
note; Dom Lobineau, *Hist. de Bret.* (Paris, 1707) II. 44, 65; Dom Moricе,
Hist. Eccl. et Civ. de Bret. (Guingamp, 1835–7) I. 311. Such names were
common in Brittany. Cf. Jehan Orguen (1414–21; Lobineau, II. 968);
Kerorguen (a place, 1739; Morice, XVIII. 426); Oregon, probably a man,
Oregun and Oreguen, women (1047–95; *Cartulaire de Redon*, ed. Courson,
Docum. Inédits, Paris, 1863, pp. 268, 339, 341).

[2] Lobineau, II. 44, I. 70; *Cronicques & Ystoires des Bretons*, by the
fifteenth-century Pierre le Baud (edited by the Vicomte de la Lande de
Calan), III. 139, 144; two MSS. of the *Chron. de Nantes* (cf. p. 70). Once
she is called Ohurgon and Droguen in one and the same document.

[3] *Dict. Topogr. du Morbihan, Dict. Géogr. et Administr. de la France*
(Paris, 1890), Joanne's *Atl. de la Fr.*, État Major map (sheet 89, Vannes,
S.-O.).

[4] In spite of this noteworthy collocation, it is doubtful if the name of such
an inconspicuous rock would have survived from the fourteenth century,
especially since in the eighteenth century the region was sparsely inhabited.
On the other hand, since the name is imperfectly intelligible to Celticists,
in contrast to such plainly descriptive names of other rocks as *Men guen,
Men du* (White, Black Rock), it may date from long ago. Since this coast
has worn away a good deal, there may once have been an island at Les
Fourches.

[5] Other place-names are somewhat like this. Dourguen is a village near
Quimper (État Major map). The Cartulary of Redon mentions (A.D. 842,
867, pp. 107–8) a *treb* or *villa* Dobrogen, in the modern canton of Males-
troit, 30 km. N.E. of Vannes (cf. *Dict. Top. du M.*; de la Borderie, *Hist. de*

There are similar personal names with a palatal or guttural consonant, mostly Old Breton. We find Drecon, a man's name, in 878, and Driken, a woman's, in 846.[1] A young son (died soon after 952) of Duke Alain Barbetorte was named Drogon (Lat. Drogo, -nis).[2] Forms abound (all male personal names except one or two place-names) with no *g* or with a spirant *g* (= *y*). Dorgen (or Dorien) occurs as a man's name nine times, 832–79, and Durgen in 913, all in the Cartulary of Redon.[3] There is to-day a Pont-Dorien 7 km. east of Concarneau (État Major map). We find Dergen as a man's name in 864; and as Duke Alain I.'s son's name in 903 (also Derian in the same document);[4] his name is also spelled Derien, Derrien.[5] La Roche Der(r)ien, a castle near Tréguier (Côtes-du-Nord), was celebrated in the Hundred Years War through a battle and siege in 1347, at which Charles de Blois, the enemy of the English, was captured.[6] Guillaume Derien (Willelmus Diryen), seneschal of Cornouaille, was sent in 1344 as envoy of the Montfortists to Edward III.[7] These last two are likely enough to have been known to Chaucer. The masculine name Der(r)ien, Derian(us), Derean(us) occurs in Brittany dozens of times, latterly as a surname, from the ninth century to the nineteenth.[8]

Names rarely found and not later than the tenth century, and such a modern place-name as Dourguen are hardly promising as

Bret. II. 177–8). This name is really a personal name, is probably not the same as *Droguen* (Loth, *Chr. Bret.* 125), means " son of water " (*Rev. Celt.* XIX. 231), and also seems to appear as Dubrien (*R.C.* VIII. 182, X. 168), which occurs as the name of a witness in the ninth century (*Cart. de Redon,* p. 74).

[1] *Cart. de Redon,* pp. 218, 42; apparently unconnected with the others (Loth, *Chrest. Bret.* p. 127).

[2] Dom Morice, I. 329; Dom Lobineau, I. 81–2, II. 952; le Baud, III. 158, 160–1; *Chron. de Nantes, passim ;* de la Borderie, II. 416–24, 547; Comte Daru, *Hist. de Bret.* (Paris, 1826) I. 273, 280–2; *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates,* II. xiii. 197. The name Drogon appears in the romances of *Girart de Roussillon* and *Hugues Capet* (Langlois, *Noms Propres*).

[3] Cf. also Loth, *Chrest. Bret.* 123, 125; twice also in the appendix of the edition of the Cartulary (pp. 359, 361; A.D. 841–66).

[4] *Cart. de Redon,* 46, 376 f.; Lobineau, II. 66; cf. Loth, *Chrest. Bret.* 123.

[5] De la Borderie, II. 344; Morice, I. 311; *Chr. de Nantes,* 75, note.

[6] De la Borderie, III. 503; Daru, II. 106, 142.

[7] De la Borderie, III. 486.

[8] Lobineau, Morice, *Cart. de Redon ; Chr. de Nantes,* 75, note; *Archives de Bret.* V. 11, 34; *Ann. de Bret.* XI. 525; de la Borderie, III. 62, 73, 115; *Rev. Celt.* III. 408, XXVIII. 401. There is a St. Deriane (*Rev. Celt.* XI. 136, 141) or Derrien (XXX. 124, 312). The name seems to mean " son of the oak " (X. 173).

parallels for *Dorigen*.[1] This leaves us with Droguen (Dorguen),
Dorgen (Dorien), and Derien (etc.). The first two are not the
same name, the *g* in the former being " hard " and in the latter
a spirant, not written after the eleventh century or so.[2] Der(r)ien,
on the other hand, according to M. Loth, is the Middle- and Modern-
Breton representative of Dorien (from about 1100). As to the
relation of these forms to Dorigen, Dr. Robinson regards both
Droguen and *Dorien* (*Dorgen*) as perhaps belonging with it.
M. Loth says, " Je crois que votre *Dorigen* est au lieu Dorien,
écrit avec *g* spirant." The pronunciation with " soft " *g* [3] would
harmonize not ill with a derivation from Dorien (hardly from
the spelling Dorgen, since the *g* had long disappeared); yet if
Dorien itself is an early form, replaced by *Derien*, there are
difficulties. M. Lot says of *Droguen*, " Vous avez, je crois, mis
la main sur l'origine de *Dorigen*." Since Chaucer's *g* may have
been hard, *Droguen* (*Dorguen*) seems perhaps the most promising.
There is nothing in Chaucer's form to justify a disbelief that it
came directly from such a form.[4]

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[1] The forms in the eight published MSS. are Dorigene, dorigious, dorygen,
Dorigen, dorygeen, dirigen, Dorigeoun, Doregen, Dorogen, Dorygene.

[2] " Dès le XIᵉ siècle au moins, on prononçait certainement Dorien "
(Lot in *Le Moyen Age*, 1902, p. 111). On all this several eminent Celticists,
Professors F. N. Robinson, Joseph Loth and F. Lot, have kindly allowed
themselves to be consulted.

[3] It is not clear whether Chaucer meant here the " hard " or the " soft "
g, though most readers doubtless assume the latter. The " hard " sound
occurs before front (as before back) vowels regularly in pure Germanic
words, and sometimes in words not immediately Germanic. In his own
vocabulary we find *gerdon, gerland, gerner, gyde, gyle, gyse*. Some of the
scribes evidently meant the soft sound, but that does not necessarily show
that he did.

[4] Cf. Escaphilo (MSS.) for Ascalaphus, Amadrides for Hamadryades,
Calistope for Callisto, Clitermystra for Clytemnestra, Donegild for
Domilde (etc., in Gower and Trivet); of course I do not mean that
these forms were necessarily substituted by Chaucer. The *dori-* for *dro-*
or *dor-* may be explained by the development of an unoriginal vowel
before or after *r*, very common—cf. Chaucer's own Cleopataras (*L.G.W.*
582, 601). We can explain *-gen* for *-guen* because the latter was strange
to both the French and the English tongue. With the later O.-Fr. *gu-*
followed by a vowel, *u* is silent, merely indicating a hard *g*; historically
speaking, if *gw* + vowel is preceded by a consonant, *g* remains, *w*
disappears from pronunciation; if by a vowel, *g* disappears, *w* is repre-
sented by *u* or *v*. In Modern English, pronounced *gw-* or *gu-* followed by
a vowel is rare, mostly recent, from Spanish; in M.E. I find in Stratmann
and *Oxf. Dict.* (disregarding Kentish forms) only the name of Arthur's queen,
Guenever, Gwenore, which tends to lose either the *g* or the *w*—*Gaynour,
Wanore, Wenhaver*. The best case of *gwen* > *gen* is in Geoffrey of Mon-
mouth (*Hist. Reg. Britt.* IV. 15, 16), a Welshman writing Latin. The name
Genuissa, as Dr. Schofield has shown to the satisfaction of M. Lot (*P.M.L.A.*
XVI. 415; *Moyen Age*, 1902, 110), is probably Geoffrey's version of the

It has been seen that no pertinent female name has turned up, except Droguen or Dorguen, which are occasionally used of the wife of the ninth-century Alain I., and may well have been used as a Christian name by the fourteenth-century Bretons. This is something, and though the others, names of men and places, may not seem to advance us very far, yet the form *Dorigen* is so striking and unusual that all the parallels mentioned above justify us in calling it Breton. Nothing could be easier phonetically than to derive it from *Dorguen*. Further than this we can hardly go in ignorance as to the source of the poem, whether Chaucer attached the name [1] or found it attached to his heroine, whether he learned it through the eye or the ear, through a Breton, French or English source.

V.

ORLEANS.

ANOTHER locality besides Brittany appears in the *Franklin's Tale*. Aurelius' clerk-brother had been educated " at Orliens in Fraunce," [2] and when he became so desperate that to help Aurelius [3] he would stop at nothing,

> He him remembred that, upon a day,
> At Orliens in studie a book he say
> Of magik naturel, which his felawe,
> That was that tyme a bacheler of lawe,
> Al were he ther to lerne another craft,
> Had prively upon his desk y-laft (1123–8).

A little later one of the most carefully composed scenes in the poem takes place at Orleans.

Welsh *Gwenhwyss.* As to the etymologies of the Breton names quoted, *guen* may be the word for *white*, and *dor* a prefix of emphasis; *Dorien* is for *do-ro-genos* (*genos* meaning born; Loth). Cf. Loth in *Chrest. Bret.*, p. 123, *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, LVII. 98, 111, and *Rev. Celt.* IV. 340, XXX. 28; Ernault in *Rev. Celt.* XXV. 296; Zimmer in *Zt. frz. Spr.* XIII. 5–6; Henry, *Lexicon Étym. . . . du Bret. Mod.*

[1] On this see p. 69 below.
[2] Brittany was temporarily united to France in 1378, but not finally till 1491, nor incorporated till 1532.
[3] The relation between Aurelius and his brother strongly recalls that between Troilus and Pandarus.

Passing over the above delightful picture of the inquisitive friend and the negligent law-student, with whom Giovanni Boccaccio and many a later literary man would have had a fellow-feeling, we may infer some particulars about Aurelius' brother's LL.B. friend. At the time above mentioned he was probably well under twenty years old and (shall I say?) a "seminar-student" or young instructor in the university—for about this appears to have been the meaning of "bacheler," who was giving lectures while supposedly continuing his reading for the mastership or doctorate.[1] The *Studium Generale* at Orleans, once of high repute for the study of classical authors and the liberal arts,[2] had suffered in these points from the rivalry of Paris; but in turn had profited at its expense through the prohibition of lectures on Roman law at Paris by Popes Honorius III. and Innocent IV. in the thirteenth century.[3] At Orleans after 1300 "the study of Law alone survived,"[4] but as a law-school it had a world-wide reputation at the end of the thirteenth century, and at the end of the fourteenth its prosperity was still at its height. "The school of Orléans . . . became the authoritative representative of legal teaching in the 'pays de droit coutumier,'" says Professor Vinogradoff;[5] "it remained throughout the Middle Ages the greatest Law University of France." Accordingly, in Chaucer's day it was highly celebrated as a law-school, and apparently as that only.[6]

[1] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), I. 209, 221–2, 443 ff.; II. 604, 624. In 1394 at Orleans there were about 80 bachelors of civil or canon law (mostly the former) in residence, and 73 absent, out of a total academic population of perhaps 1000 (Rashdall, II. 145–6; Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885, II. 145–6).

[2] "Aurelianis Auctores," says the twelfth-century Matthew of Vendôme (*Sitzungsber. d. kgl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1872, p. 571). The thirteenth-century Provençal Peire de Corbian speaks of learning arithmetic at Orleans (Hamilton, in *Romania*, XLI. 270). Cf. H. O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, II. 119, 127; Sandys, *Hist. of Class. Schol.* I. 647–50; Denifle, I. 253; Rashdall, II. 137–8.

[3] Denifle, I. 252–3; Rashdall, II. 139–40; Savigny, *Gesch. d. röm. Rechts im Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1822), III. 343, 371; Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Mediæval Europe* (London and New York, 1909), p. 85.

[4] Sandys, p. 650.

[5] P. 66. Cf. Rashdall, II. 139–45; Denifle, I. 254, 256; Taylor, II. 250; Savigny, III. 369 ff.

[6] Chaucer's literary friend Deschamps has a diverting jeremiad on the subject of law-students at Orleans (*Œuvres*, S.A.T.F., IX., ll. 2105ff.). Apparently all did not waste their time as fruitfully as the Franklin's clerk did. Lawyers put their sons there to study law, and they stay seven or eight years, devour their fathers' goods, and learn little but vice and violence;

It is possible that Chaucer had still other facts as a basis for his representation of Orleans students. One might not be surprised at a mediæval student of mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, medicine or theology straying into the occult, but law is a study with especial solidity

> Standing on Earth, not rapt above the pole.

Yet Aurelius' brother does not count on finding his original astrologic friend, but hopes that he may

> At Orliens som old felawe y-finde (1153),

who is learned in magic. Does this mean that Orleans had the reputation of fostering occult studies? Now it is curious that in 1510, at a trial of certain men in the diocese of York for sorcery, a priest, Sir John Wilkynson, Canon of Drax, testified that when he was twelve years old " he was at an invocacion made at Wakefield by a scolar of Orlyaunce," and saw spirits raised. Here is another Orleans clerk, less than a century after Chaucer's day, perhaps much less, who practises magic; that he was from Orleans may have been mentioned as accounting for it.[1]

Chaucer may have chosen Orleans as the *alma mater* of his clerks because it had this ill name.[2] Nevertheless the choice is very harmonious with the Breton localization. There was no

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they go there straight and decent fellows, and return *affolez*. The Orleans student supposed in Ballade 1433 to be writing a letter home (Deschamps, VIII. 96-7) is a law-student. On Deschamps' connection with Orleans, cf. below.

[1] *Archæological Journal*, XVI. 76 (pointed out to me by Professor Hamilton). It was certain cities in Spain, notably Toledo, the home of astrology and other Oriental lore, which were especially noted in the Middle Ages for the study of magic. Cf. among other authorities the citation of the thirteenth-century preacher Elinandus in Comparetti's *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (Engl. transl., pp. 320-1), and in Rashdall, II. 138. Wright's note on the passage in the *Franklin's Tale*, quoted by Skeat, to the effect that the jealousy of Paris may have given Orleans an ill name for magic studies, is doubtless wrong, as it certainly is in saying that Orleans " fell into disrepute." No doubt magic, like astrology, was studied in many places, so there may be no special implication about Orleans.

[2] It is natural to ask why he chose it, for it is scarcely nearer Brittany than the far larger and more eminent University of Paris. There is no apparent reason why the clerk should be a law-student except that Orleans was a law-university. Deschamps had been a student at Orleans (Ball. 1105), probably of law (Ball. 225; M. Raynaud, his editor, errs in saying he had studied the liberal arts and astrology there also). His son too was a student there, seemingly of civil and canon law (Ball. 1038, and cf. no. 1480 on Orleans students). If Deschamps met Chaucer he may have been his informant.

university in Brittany till 1460, when that of Nantes was founded.[1] It is true the University of Angers was nearer Brittany than Orleans is, appears to have had a " nation " of Bretons, and like Orleans was mostly a law-school; but it was much less distinguished than the other, less a " scientific " than a " practical " school.[2]   Chaucer's clerks could afford to choose the best.   The writer asked a well-informed Breton scholar, the Vicomte de la Lande de Calan, of Rennes, if his mediæval countrymen habitually went to Orleans; he replied instantly that they did, for the study of Roman law, and that such a one was St. Yves, the patron saint of Brittany.[3]   Not only was the Breton St. Yves educated in civil law at Orleans, but his two fellow-students, who before his canonization testified to his upright life there, were Bretons also.[4]

Chaucer (or, if any one wishes, the author of some unknown source) may not have known the university preferences of the Bretons.   But in any case his picture of the University of Orleans and its students is another example of the wonderful and unmediæval love of fact [5] and fineness of workmanship, characteristic of the later Chaucer, of which the *Franklin's Tale* is so full.

VI.

ENGLISHMEN IN BRITTANY.

WHERE did Chaucer get the knowledge of Brittany shown in the *Franklin's Tale ?*   The most obvious answer is that it was in his source; but any one will grant that other answers are possible. It may be that he had himself been near Penmarch.   What evidence there is, however, opposes this idea; there is no countenance for it in the records of his life or in any known fact about him, and his picture of a high shore is in vivid contrast with the

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[1] Rashdall, II. 202; de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bret.* IV. 619.

[2] Rashdall, II. 150, 153, 155; Denifle, I. 275.

[3] 1253–1303; an honest lawyer, canonized in 1347.   The prose for his office says, " Sanctus Ivo erat Brito, Advocatus sed non latro, Res miranda populo " (R. J. King, *Sketches and Studies*, London, 1874, p. 247; Loth in *Annales de Bret.* IV. 632).

[4] *Acta Sanctorum,* 19 May; Vol. XVII. 540, 545, 587.

[5] Professor Hart (in *Haverford Essays,* 1909, p. 188, note) says that the journey from Orleans to (near) Penmarch, 300 miles, seems to take but a single day.   But there seems to be no such implication in ll. 1239–42.

actual low one.[1] True, a poet, especially in the Middle Ages,
was under no obligation to sacrifice picturesqueness to trivial
accuracy; but Chaucer loved reality, his fidelity to it appears
on scrutiny all through the tale, which has a local colour re-
markable in his day. His manner of localizing it is just what
we should expect from one who knew the region by hearsay.
There are many possible sources for such knowledge.

Brittany, one of the continental lands nearest England, has
always been well enough known to Englishmen, and its prominent
capes must have been familiar to the shipmen whom Chaucer
saw at the custom-house.[2] During the whole middle and later
part of the fourteenth century the relations of England and
Brittany were especially close.   In fact, there is a curious analogy
between the general situation in the *Franklin's Tale* and cases
which must have existed in Chaucer's day in England.   Arveragus

> Shoop him to goon, and dwelle a yeer or tweyne
> In Engelond, that cleped was eek Briteyne,
> To seke in armes worship and honour ;
> For al his lust he sette in swich labour (809–12).
> And eek Arveragus, in al this care,
> Hath sent hir lettres hoom of his welfare,
> And that he wol come hastily agayn (837–9).

Reading *Brittany* for *England*, just this might have been said
of many of Chaucer's English contemporaries and even acquaint-
ances.   He may have known English Dorigens who pined on
Channel cliffs, and who may even have been in his mind when
he pictured Dorigen on a high shore.[3]

In 1341, soon after the beginning of the Hundred Years' War,
a struggle broke out between two claimants for the ducal throne
of Brittany. Since the French king supported Charles de Blois,

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[1] So he certainly never stood at Penmarch on a *falaise escarpée* or *scogliera*,
as MM. Legouis and Rajna picture him.

[2] In the reign of Duke Jean IV. the chief trade of Brittany was with
England and Bordeaux (de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bret*. IV. 129).

[3] Dorigen assumes that Arveragus and his comrades will return from
England directly by sea (854–93), not through France, as a knight-errant
might have done (though not necessarily). Just so Chaucer's contem-
poraries did, because of the war, sometimes being tossed on the Channel
for weeks (cf. also Yseult's troublous voyage to Brittany: Thomas' *Tristan*,
ll. 2854–971).   Had Dorigen's expectation been otherwise, of course there
would have been no story, but it must have seemed particularly natural to
Chaucer's readers.

Edward III. supported Jean de Montfort. Jean dying in 1345, his claim passed to his young son, in whose name Edward until 1362 administered the duchy through English officials. The matter was settled in favour of this son, Duke Jean IV.,[1] by the Battle of Auray, 1364, in which Charles de Blois was killed, and by the Treaty of Guérande in 1365, establishing him as duke. His continued English sympathies resulted in 1373 in his exile for six years, and the subjection to France, not without English resistance, of all Brittany except Brest and a few other places with English garrisons. The attempt by King Charles V. to unite Brittany to France ended in the duke's restoration in 1379. The English continued to fight the French there and to hold certain places; Brest in particular, called by Walsingham the key of Brittany, was held by an English garrison most of the time from the Battle of Auray till 1397.[2]

Each of the two reigning houses, Breton and English, was familiarly connected with the other country. Duke Jean IV., who was just about Chaucer's age, was kept in England and away from Bretons from his early childhood till he assumed the government in 1362; in 1355 he married a daughter of Edward III., and in 1366 Joan de Holland, stepdaughter of the Black Prince; he was at court in 1358, and in 1359 at a tournament at Smithfield, and was Earl of Richmond in the English peerage. After his accession he was constantly in alliance with England, and was sometimes in England. His household and trusted officers were English, and the patriotic Breton branded and still brands him as an Anglomaniac.[3] His mother, the heroine of the siege of Hennebont in 1342, was in England from 1343 probably till 1374 (insane, it is believed).[4] In 1395 a match was proposed between his daughter Marie and the future Henry V. of England. As to the English royal family, Edward III. sailed for Brittany in October 1342, and remained there until early in 1343, raiding the land from end to end, especially the region south-east of

[1] Often called Jean V., his father, who never really reigned, being counted.

[2] De la Borderie, Vols. III. and IV. (especially pp. 104, 138); Longman, *Life and Times of Edward III.*; Mackinnon, *History of Edward III.*; Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 397, etc.; *Political History of England*, III. 352 ff. (by Tout); IV. 10 ff., 133 (by Oman).

[3] De la Borderie, III. 568 ff.; IV. 13 f., 134; on him cf. Froissart, *passim*, especially Vol. IX. 321-2 (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove).

[4] De la Borderie, III. 488-91; Tout, p. 356.

Penmarch.[1]   John of Gaunt was in Brittany various times; early in 1367, according to Froissart, he marched from St. Mathieu to Nantes on his way southward; in 1378 he besieged St. Malo for a short time; on his way to Spain in 1386 he stopped to relieve the besieged English garrison of Brest, and in 1395 was in Brittany making an alliance with the duke and trying to arrange the match mentioned above.[2]   Several of his brothers are spoken of later.

Various members of the king's household when Chaucer was there as squire and Philippa Chaucer as a *damoiselle* were later (or earlier) in Brittany or about its coast.[3]   " Johan de Arundell," who was one of the *bachillers* in 1368,[4] is probably the Sir John Arundell who was sent in April 1378 as one of the commissioners to receive the castle of Brest from the Duke of Brittany.[5] " Mons. Thomas de Beauchamp " (1345 ?–1401), *bachiller* in 1368 and still in the royal household in September 1369,[6] in the latter year inherited the earldom of Warwick from his father,

[1] Tout, p. 354, and *Dictionary of National Biography*. In 1342 Chaucer's step-grandfather, Richard Chaucer, was to supply wine for the army in Brittany and elsewhere (Kern, *Ancestry of Chaucer*, pp. 150–1).

[2] Armitage-Smith, pp. 44, 233, 311, 387; Oman, p. 11; de la Borderie, IV. 105; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* Henry, Duke of Lancaster (1299 ?–1361), whose daughter Blanche married John of Gaunt and was lamented by Chaucer in 1369, was in Brittany with the king in 1342–3 as one of the English commanders, in 1355 succeeded Lord Thomas de Holland as the king's lieutenant in Brittany, was " captain " of the country in 1356, and besieged Rennes for nine months in 1356–7 (Rymer, *Fœdera*, London, 1704– 35, Vol. V. 826, 861; Froissart, V. 229; de la Borderie, III. 483; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*).

[3] I wish to thank heartily Dr. Ernest P. Kuhl, formerly instructor in the University of Michigan, for lending me the manuscript of his index to the Chaucer *Life Records*. Now that it is published (*Modern Philology*, X. 527–52), others will find it as useful as I have found it.

[4] *Life Rec.*, 163. The household numbered between 300 and 400, about 180 of Chaucer's rank or above. In case of the more obscure persons, it is hard to be sure we are not confounding namesakes. I have given much detail in this chapter, but some of it may one day serve some other student.

[5] Rymer's *Fœdera*, VII. 193. In December 1379 he went on an expedition to aid him, but was lost on the voyage; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1379, 420–1; Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser., 1863) I. 418–25; Froissart, IX. 64, 213–15, etc.; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* Being named as he is (and without the *Monsieur* in the *Life Records*), it is doubtful if Kervyn de Lettenhove is right (Froissart, XX. 186) in thinking he belonged to the Fitzalan family, Earls of Arundel. If he did, the Richard de Arundell named just before him (*Life Rec.*, 163) may be the Richard Fitzalan who was earl after 1376, and was at St. Malo and Brest in 1378 and 1387–8 (Walsingham, II. 155–6; Rymer, VII. 579; Froissart, IX. 68, 91–3; de la Borderie, IV. 44, 106; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*). This earl appears in an unimportant way in the *Life Records* (208–9) in connection with Chaucer's ward Edmund de Staplegate.

[6] *Life Rec.*, 163, 173.

who had been a commander before Rennes and Vannes in 1342–3.[1]
In 1375 the son was serving in Brittany, at St. Mathieu, Brest,
Auray and Quimperlé.[2] Chaucer seems to have been more
closely associated (as a surety) with his brother William, who was
also associated with Lewis de Clifford, Chaucer's friend.[3] The
Earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke were in the king's household
in 1368. The latter was John Hastings, second earl (1347–75),
whose young son was betrothed in 1380 to Elizabeth, daughter
of John of Gaunt; her duenna and afterwards stepmother was
Catherine Swynford, believed to have been Chaucer's own sister-in-
law.[4] The former was Edmund de Langley (1341–1402), fifth son
of Edward III., who had been on the same campaign as Chaucer
in 1359. Both these earls were in Brittany for a short time in
1369, at St. Malo, whence they crossed the country on their way
southward. The Earl of Cambridge was, with the Duke of
Brittany, the king's lieutenant in Brittany in 1374–5, and was
at St. Mathieu and Quimperlé; in 1378 he was at St. Malo again
with John of Gaunt.[5] Richard Imworth was sergeant-at-arms
in the king's household in 1368, and was still there in 1369.
Richard de Immworth was sent to Brittany in 1362–6.[6] William,
Lord Latimer (1329 ?–1381), in the royal household in 1368, was
seneschal there the following year.[7] From 1360 on he had been
in Brittany for some years, first as the king's or duke's lieutenant;
in 1364 he was at the siege and battle of Auray, just after was
at the siege of Quimper, and was still serving in the country in
1366. In 1378 he was sent to receive the castle of Brest from
Duke Jean, in 1380 was constable of the host in Brittany, and
a commissioner to form a league with the duke, was at Rennes
and at the luckless siege of Nantes, and wintered at Hennebont.[8]

[1] De la Borderie, III. 483; Froissart, IV. 168–75, XVII. 143, 145; *Dict.
Nat. Biogr.*
[2] Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* I. 318; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*
[3] *Life Rec.*, p. 213, and cf. 225; Dr. J. R. Hulbert's excellent dissertation,
Chaucer's Official Life (University of Chicago, 1912), pp. 50 ff.
[4] Cf. the writer's *Development and Chronology* (Ch. Soc.), pp. 152–5, and
references given there.
[5] De la Borderie, IV. 15, 34; Froissart, VII. 326–8, VIII. 344–58, IX.
67 ff.; Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* I. 318; Rymer, *Fœdera*, VII.
49–51; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*
[6] *Life Rec.*, 165, 173; *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, LX. 180.
[7] *Life Rec.*, 163, 171, 173.
[8] Rymer, VI. 302, VII. 193, 236, 256; Froissart, VII. 76–7; de la
Borderie, IV. 62; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* His wife was the daughter of Richard,
Earl of Arundel, and his daughter married John, Lord Neville (see below).

" Mons. Thomas Murreux " (Morieux) was a *bachiller* in the king's household in 1368 with Chaucer, and he and Philippa Chaucer were two of the seven to receive silver cups from John of Gaunt at the same time in 1382.[1] He was John's son-in-law, and was with John at Brest in 1386.[2] John, Lord Neville (*d.* 1388), was seneschal of the royal household in 1373, while Chaucer was a squire.[3] In 1372, after negotiating an alliance with the Duke of Brittany, he landed with high authority at St. Mathieu, occupied it with his troops, and then took joint command of Brest till late in 1373; he then returned to England and became seneschal.[4] Stephen Romylowe was in the king's household with Chaucer in 1368 as squire, and also in 1369.[5] He had been a subordinate on an embassy to Brittany in 1357.[6] Geffrey Stucle's name immediately follows Chaucer's in seven lists of squires and others in the royal household, 1368–74.[7] Dr. Hulbert tells us that he is mentioned in 1355–6 as valet in the household of the Countess of Ulster, where Chaucer was in 1357 and may also have known him, since he is not mentioned as in the king's household till 1357–8.[8] He was sent on frequent missions by Edward III. and Richard II.; in 1362–3 he was paid for one to Brittany, and in 1365–6 was paid a large sum for a diplomatic mission to the Duke of Brittany.[9] Thomas de Woodstock (1355–97), Earl of Buckingham, youngest son of Edward III., is mentioned among the royal household in 1368. He was among those sent in 1378 to receive Brest Castle from Duke Jean, to whose aid he was sent in 1380 with 5000 men as the king's lieutenant; he went mostly by land, besieged Nantes, was at Vannes, and returned home by sea in 1381.[10]

[1] *Life Rec.*, 163, 236.
[2] Armitage-Smith, 310–11. He was with Arundell's unlucky armament which started for Brittany in 1379 (Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* 1. 418 ff.), of which part was wrecked on the Irish coast and part arrived.
[3] *Life Rec.*, 185–6.
[4] Froissart, VIII. 221, 273, etc.; de la Borderie, IV. 21, 25; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*
[5] *Life Rec.*, 166, 174.
[6] *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, LIX. 576 (cf. LX. 181). It is curious that a John " Chaufcire " was apparently in Paris in 1361 (*ibid.* LX. 179, note); he can hardly have been Chaucer's father.
[7] *Life Rec.*, 165–88, and cf. 159.
[8] *Chaucer's Official Life*, pp. 13, 33; *Life Rec.*, 153.
[9] Hulbert, 17, 20, 32–3. It was probably his father who was going to Brittany in 1348 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1348, p. 147).
[10] Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* I. 434; Rymer, VII. 193, 195, 256; Froissart, IX. 292–332; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1383, p. 361.

Others, connected with Chaucer in other ways, were in Brittany.
John, Lord Cobham, was sent to France in 1377 to make a treaty
at the time when Chaucer was sent for the same purpose.[1] Cobham
was one of those sent in 1378 to receive Brest Castle from Duke
Jean.[2] Sir John Montagu was appointed on the same peace
commission in France as Lord Cobham; he is said to have been
both a poet himself and a patron of poets.[3] In 1378 he was
among those sent to receive Brest Castle.[4] His uncle William,
whom in 1397 he succeeded as Earl of Salisbury, was Chaucer's
fellow peace-commissioner in France, according to Stow, in 1377.[5]
He was in Brittany, occupied St. Malo, cruised on the coast, and
went to the relief of Brest in 1373, and of Hennebont in 1377.[6]
Chaucer and Sir Thomas de Percy (1344?–1403, Earl of
Worcester from 1397) were paid in 1377 at the same time for their
expenses on a secret royal mission to Flanders; presumably
they went together.[7]   One of his squires, at least between 1380
and 1392, was the Robert de Bukton who is pretty surely
to be identified with Chaucer's close friend Bukton.[8] Percy
was very active in Brittany. He was there in 1379 as joint
captain of Brest and as diplomatic commissioner, cruised about
Brittany, in 1380 was at Rennes and at the blockade of

[1] They are not named in the same documents (*Life Rec.*, 202–4, 219, 230;
Rymer, *Syllabus*, p. 477), but were probably associated.
  It was doubtless the same John de Cobham who was justice of the peace
with Chaucer and others in 1385 and 1386 (*Life Rec.*, 254, 259); he is named
without his title, but so, *e. g.*, is "Thomas de Holand" in Rymer, V. 826,
though he was Baron Holland.   There is no evidence, however, that Chaucer
ever sat with all his fellow-justices.   Another of them, John Devereux,
was governor of Brest in 1375, was near Quimperlé the same year, and about
1380 received a life-pension from the Duke of Brittany (Froissart, VIII.
258, 352 ff.; de la Borderie, IV. 36 f.; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*).   Among Lord
Cobham's and probably Chaucer's fellow-commissioners in France at this
time and later seem to have been John de Sheppey and Walter de Skirlawe,
(*Life Rec.*, 204, 230) of whom the former was one of Richard II.'s commis-
sioners in 1380 to form a league with Duke Jean (Rymer, VII. 236), and the
latter, with Thomas Percy and others, was to treat with him in 1379 (*ibid.*,
223).
[2] Rymer, VII. 193; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*
[3] *Life Rec.*, 195, 204, 274; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*   He married the widow of
John Aubrey, son of the Andrew who was a business connection of Chaucer's
father.
[4] Rymer, VII. 193; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1379, 420–1.   Apparently he was
on the unfortunate Breton expedition of 1379, but it is not known whether
he arrived.
[5] *Life Rec.*, 206.
[6] Froissart, VIII. 245, etc.; de la Borderie, IV. 25; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*
His father had been at Vannes and Rennes in 1343.
[7] So stated in *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, and cf. *Life Rec.*, 201–2.
[8] Hulbert, 54–5; Tatlock, *Development and Chronology*, 210–11.

Nantes, wintered at Hennebont, and probably went home from Vannes; in 1381 he was appointed warden of Brest Castle for three years, and in December 1384 was appointed for the next year, though he was not there all this time; in 1384 he was one of the conservators of the truce in Brittany, and was there again for a short time in 1388.[1]

The great Holland family, with which Chaucer had many ties, had frequent relations with Brittany. A " Johannes [de] Holand " was in the royal household with Chaucer in 1373 and 1377.[2] Probably he is the John Holland (1352 ? 1400), in 1387 Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter, whose mother, " the Fair Maid of Kent," married the Black Prince for her second husband, and who was chamberlain of England in 1389; in that year he married John of Gaunt's daughter Elizabeth, whose duenna and later stepmother was probably Chaucer's sister-in-law.[3] In 1378 he was at St. Malo, in 1389 he was appointed warden of Brest Castle for three years and admiral of the fleet in the western seas, and was at Brest in that year; he was

[1] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* I. 418, 426; Rymer, VII. 223, 256, 332, 452; Froissart, IX. 297; de la Borderie, IV. 62–4; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*; *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1379, 420–1. He and Chaucer were among the many (including others mentioned here) who gave evidence at the Scrope-Grosvenor trial in 1386; Sir Richard le Scrope, in whose behalf both testified, had been in Brittany before November 1344 (*D.N.B.*) Percy's brother Henry, Earl of Northumberland (1342–1408), was in the royal household with Chaucer in 1368 and 1369 (*Life Rec.,* 163, 173), and the latter's son, Henry " Hotspur," went in 1387 to help the English garrison of Brest (de la Borderie, IV. 107). I might add that John Philipot (*Life Rec.,* 187, 211, 217–18; Hulbert, 42–4, 46–7, 63, 71) in 1379–80 provided ships for the expedition to Brittany, and in 1380 and 1383 was concerned in the financial administration of the Breton war (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1383, 361; Rymer, VII. 256; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*); that John Colepepir (*Life Rec.,* 284) was to go to Brittany in 1389, but did not (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1388–92, 168). A monk, John Lakynghith, an agent of Chaucer's in 1390 (*Life Rec.,* 287, 342), either was or was probably related to Sir John de Lakingheth, who had been captain of Conq (near Concarneau, which was noted on p. 9 as a possible location for the tale) in 1373, joint-captain of Brest in 1376 and at Brest in 1378 (Rymer, VII. 194, *Syllabus* 476; de la Borderie, IV. 28; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*) Another monk and a priest of the same surname are in the *D.N.B.* " Mons. Bernard Brokas " (1330 ?–1395), *bachiller* in the royal household with Chaucer in 1368, and still in Chaucer's ken later as chamberlain to Queen Anne, apparently went on the Breton expedition of 1379 with John Arundell, Percy, Morieux and Montagu, but may not have arrived (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*; *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1379, 420–1; Walsingham, I. 418–26). It is interesting that Edward III. gave to John Brocas, probably a near relative (cf. the *D.N.B.*), the domain of Dunmow, Essex (Froissart, XX. 463); Chaucer refers to the custom there of giving a piece of bacon to harmonious married couples (*W.B.P.* 217–18, 418).

[2] *Life Rec.,* 186, 210.

[3] Cf. *Devel. and Chronol.,* 152–5, and p. 48 above; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

warden of it in 1397 when it was given up to the Duke of Brittany.[1]
His niece and her husband, the Earl and Countess of March,
appointed Chaucer sub-forester of North Petherton in 1390–1
and 1397–8.[2]   The Countess' father, John's brother, Thomas
Holland (1350–97), Earl of Kent, had been with the Earl of
Cambridge and Duke of Brittany at St. Mathieu about 1375–6,
and at St. Malo in 1378;[3] and the father of both these Hollands,
Thomas, first earl, had been Edward III.'s lieutenant in Brittany
in 1354–5.[4]   The father of the Earl of March, Edmund Mortimer,
third earl, was in Brittany in 1375, the army being at St. Mathieu,
Brest, Quimperlé and Auray.[5]   I have said that John Holland's
sister Joan married Duke Jean IV. of Brittany and went to his
duchy with him in 1366, and that their household was largely
English.   Thus the reigning Duchess of Brittany, had she lived,
would have been sister-in-law to the pupil (and afterwards
stepdaughter) of Chaucer's sister-in-law—not a close tie doubt-
less, yet perhaps Philippa Chaucer did not allow her neighbours
to forget it.

In most of the above cases the part of Brittany visited either
is not mentioned, or is not very near Penmarch.   Still, the sea-
route, often taken by the men spoken of, between England and such
places as Quimperlé, Hennebont, Auray, Vannes and Nantes
passes or rounds the Pointe de Penmarch, and St. Mathieu and
Brest are under fifty miles away in the other direction.   But we
can get nearer.   The considerable fortified town nearest the
point seems to have been Quimper, "Kemper-corentin," under
twenty miles away.   This was defended by the English and
Montfortists in 1344; lost, and then besieged by them in 1345,
and again about 1364, after the Battle of Auray (among the
besiegers being Lord Latimer); and garrisoned and lost by the
English in 1373.[6]   After the unsuccessful siege of Nantes in the
winter of 1380–1, the English, under Robert Knolles[7] and Hugh

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[1] Rymer, VII. 622, 852; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1389, 49, 188; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*;
Froissart, IX. 68, etc. (according to the editor, XXIV. 133, he was captain
of Brest in 1392).

[2] *Life Rec.*, 118, 120, 291.

[3] Froissart, VIII. 344, IX. 68; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

[4] Rymer, V. 826; de la Borderie, III. 547; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

[5] Walsingham, I. 318; Froissart, VIII. 355 ff.; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

[6] De la Borderie, III. 484–5, 498, IV. 28; Froissart, VII. 70–7, XVII.
420.

[7] A prominent soldier, mentioned by Chaucer's literary friend Deschamps
(S.A.T.F., Vol. II. 330, III. 100).

Calvely, wintered there; being excluded from the town, they had to roam the country-side for such forage as did not come to them by sea, and went home by sea early in 1381.[1]

Penmarch, or Cap Caval, not being a fortified place,[2] does not figure often in military history. But from time to time Englishmen appear there. " Penmark " and Cap Caval were granted for six years on the 7th July, 1355, by Edward III. to John Mautalent, apparently an Englishman, who had conquered them.[3] In 1393 certain men of Bristol and other places in the west were pardoned for stealing wine from a French barge at " Penmark " in 1391-2.[4]

This is enough to show that Brittany in general, and in particular one of its most conspicuous capes and the country near it, were extremely familiar to Chaucer's English contemporaries;[5] and further that numerous men with whom he was thrown had been or were to be familiar with the country. We cannot tell, to be sure, just which of his early associates he met again in later

[1] De la Borderie, IV. 64, 67; Froissart, IX. 324, 330. Others of the besiegers of Nantes wintered at Quimperlé, and others (under Latimer and Percy) at Hennebont.

[2] " Une bourgade riche et commerçante mais ouverte " (de la Borderie, IV. 147).

[3] " Rex [Angliæ] omnibus, etc. Sciatis quod, pro bono servicio quod dilectus noster Johannes Mautalent nobis impendit, concessimus ei custodiam castri de sancto Grimolino de Bosco in Britannia, una cum patria de Penmark ac parochiis circumadjacentibus, quæ per conquestam lucratus est, habenda et tenenda usque ad finem sex annorum proxime sequentium "; quoted by de la Borderie (III. 540) from a MS. in the Moreau collection in the Bibliothèque National.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-6, p. 280. Our author does not say whether " the chapman sleep." In 1403 William de Wilford, with an English fleet, after taking French ships near Brest and Belle-Île, landed a large force at " Pen-(n)arch(e) " and burned the " villas " for a distance of six leagues : Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* II. 260, and *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, 403; *Ann. Ric. II. et Henr. IV.* 376; de la Borderie, IV. 147; Bellier-Dumaine, *L'Admin. de Bret. sous Jean V.*, p. 92 (Paris and Rennes, 1902, and in *Ann. de Bret.* XIV., XV., XVI.). In 1407 a ship which had been taken from the English was wrecked on the coast of Penmarch (*Arch. de Bret.* V. 38). On the English in Brittany cf. de la Borderie, *Études Hist. Bret.* (Paris, 1884-8) II. 49-236. De la Borderie (*Hist. de Bret.* III. 535) identifies " Pemmure " with Penmarch; its captain and the captains of other English garrisons all around the coast from Brest to Vannes and beyond were directed in 1355 to accept the authority of the Duke of Lancaster (cf. also Rymer, *Fœdera*, V. 827). At " Penmur " also were confined the hostages given by the Blois party to the English-Montfortist party in 1363 (Lobineau, I. 362). But these names probably refer to Penmeur, an ancient ruined castle in the commune of Muzillac, south-east of Vannes (*Dict. Top. du Morb.*); 25 km. south is Guérande, where the rest of these hostages were held.

[5] Of course many other Englishmen and Breton places are mentioned in the works I have quoted.

life, and how well he knew these men of high station whom the
records show to have been in Brittany.[1] But in a small metro-
politan place like late fourteenth-century London, a man of his
personality is likely to have met some of them from time to time ;
and for each of these men there is no telling how many obscure
friends among their followers, and others, had been in Brittany.
From all this we can infer how widespread must have been a
knowledge of Breton topography and affairs. If we find any
reason to doubt that he found his information in the source of
the *Franklin's Tale*, we are amply justified in believing that he
got it by word of mouth.[2]

[1] It is of much interest for many reasons to see once more with how
many prominent men Chaucer had been associated at one time or other.

[2] Various passages in his works besides those already mentioned may
reflect a hearsay knowledge of Brittany. The Orleans clerk bargains

> To remoeven alle the rokkes of Britayne,
> And eek from Gerounde to the mouth of Sayne (*Frankl. T.* 1221-2).

The mouths of the Gironde and the Seine are almost exactly equidistant
from the Pointe de Penmarch. The coast of Brittany is prevailingly rocky
and forbidding, though not much of the coast beyond is. The Shipman,
with his wine from " Burdeux-ward," not only knew the Gironde, by which
he reached Bordeaux ; he also

> knew wel alle the havenes as they were
> From Gootland to the cape of Finistere,
> And every cryke in Britayne and in Spayne (*Prol.*, 407-9).

Cryke well expresses the much-indented Breton coast. (*Finistere* doubtless
refers to the cape in Galicia, familiar to pilgrims to Santiago ; but the cape
now called Pointe St. Mathieu, which one rounds to reach Brest, in the Middle
Ages was called *St. Mathieu de Fineterre* or *de Fineposterne*. Hence
the name of the post-Revolutionary department.) " Cloth of Rennes,"
common in England, is mentioned in the *Book of the Duchess*, 255.
Characters in the *Canterbury Tales* swear by saints popular in Brittany.
St. Yve appears twice in an oath (*Shipm. T.* 1417, *Summ. T.* 1943), each
time rhyming with *thryve*. Dr. Skeat (V. 172) thought this was St. Ives
of Huntingdonshire, a very mythical Persian bishop. The name Ives, Ive,
Ivo, etc., of Germanic origin (Loth in *Ann. de Bret.* IV. 632-3), is not
uncommon, and was borne by a canonized twelfth-century Bishop of
Chartres (cf. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CLXI. f.) ; it is uncertain to whom St. Ives in
Cornwall is dedicated. But is not Chaucer's oath most likely to refer to the
patron-saint of England's ally in the Hundred Years War, a land from which
many of his countrymen must have brought back novelties ? The Bretons
are eloquent in St. Yve's praise, and countless churches and places are dedi-
cated to him ; there is a grotesque statue of him in the church at Penmarch.
Cf. de la Borderie, III. 367-70, *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. du Finistère,* XXVII.
197, and p. 44 above. The Prioress' favourite saint (*Prol.* 120 ; also invoked
by the carter in *Fri. T.* 1564) was one of the most popular in Brittany—St.
Eloy, or Eligius, Bishop of Noyon in the seventh century, ambassador to
Brittany from King Dagobert (cf. *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. du Finistère,*
XXII. 96-106; *Catholic Encycl.* ; Alban Butler's and Baring-Gould's
Lives of the Saints, 1 Dec.) Places named from him appear often on the
État Major maps of Brittany and in topographical dictionaries. He was
also venerated in Flanders, and may have been a favourite of the Prioress
and the carter because he is patron of goldsmiths and blacksmiths.

VII.

THE SOURCE.

THIS article was begun and carried on in the hope of adding something wholly new to our knowledge of Chaucer and his work, and so far as possible has avoided points of contention. Very early, however, some of its results were seen to bear on the question as to the source of the *Franklin's Tale* debated with such learning and skill by Professor Pio Rajna [1] and Professor W. H. Schofield.[2] Shall we hold with the former that it is due solely to Boccaccio, probably from Menedon's story of the enchanted garden in the *Questioni d'Amore* episode in the *Filocolo* ? [3] Or with the latter

[1] *Romania*, XXXI. 40–7, XXXII. 204–67 (1902–3).

[2] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XVI. 405–49 (1901). As to the merits of the question, opinion has inclined to Schofield's view. It was accepted by a reviewer in *The Nation*, LXXIII. 285, by Koch in *Litteraturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Philol.* XXIV. 155–6, and by Binz in *Anglia Beibl.* XIV. 368–70, none of whom shows acquaintance with Rajna's articles. Young, though he does, had not abandoned Schofield's main position (*Orig. and Devel. of the Story of Tr. and Cris.*, 181, note). In 1906 Schofield maintained it unchanged (*Engl. Lit. Norm. Conq. to Ch.* 194–5), ignoring Rajna. In 1902 Lot rejected Schofield's view (*Moyen Age*, pp. 108–12), and Foulet in 1906 accepted Rajna's (*Zt. rom. Philol.*, XXX. 698). In 1886, long before the controversy, Kittredge believed the tale might have come possibly through Boccaccio, or through a lay of Brittany (*Amer. Journ. of Philol.*, VII. 179–80). Other early opinion is cited by Schofield and Rajna. Root accepts neither view (*Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 274), but thinks the tale comes from a French *fabliau.*

[3] *Opere Volgari* (Magheri-Moutier edition, Florence, 1827–34), VIII. 48–60. Rajna makes it very plain (*Rom.* XXXII. 235–44) that this version is nearer Chaucer's than that in the *Decameron* (X. 5), even though he believes strongly (244 ff.) that Chaucer knew the latter work, and had no other reason to believe he knew the former. For this reason and because we have other proof that he knew the *Filocolo* (Young, *op. cit.*), and none at all that he knew the *Decameron* (cf. my article in *Anglia*, XXXVII. 69–117), I shall usually regard the version in the former, which I here summarize. Menedon tells the story to the party in the garden for the sake of the final problem. A knight in Spain deeply loves and weds a lady, whom another knight, Tarolfo, falls in love with and wooes. She steadily rejects him, without telling her husband of the affair. To rid herself of him utterly, she bids him trouble her no more till he can provide her in January with a garden blooming and fruitful as in May. Tarolfo, entirely understanding her, agrees. He seeks help far and wide; at last, advised to try in Thessaly as a land abounding in magic, he finds there an old caitiff, Tebano, who for the promise of half Tarolfo's wealth undertakes the task, and performs it by magic arts. Tarolfo takes the lady to the garden; she admires it, but begs him not to claim his due till her husband is away. She goes home in grief, remarking which her husband extorts her secret, gently chides her, but bids her keep her word. Tarolfo receives her joyfully, but, learning that her husband has sent her, is shamed into letting her go. Tebano learns of this and refuses his reward. Which of the three men was most generous ?

that the main story is due solely to early Celtic tradition, echoing in Geoffrey of Monmouth, embodied in a lay of Brittany and reaching Chaucer through a French version of that? It seems wrong to close without going into the subject and noting such fresh evidence as there may be.

The probability that the *Franklin's Tale* was based on the *Filocolo* is greatly heightened, to say the least, by the recognition of Chaucer's extensive use of it as early as in the *Troilus*.[1] When we see how much he seems to have remembered from various parts of it, how can we doubt that he knew it well, and even that he owned a copy? His metamorphosis of his borrowings would be a parallel to the metamorphosis from Menedon's story to the *Franklin's Tale*. As to the resemblances in detail and language between these two, I must refer to pp. 234–44 and 220–3 of Rajna's second article.[2] While they do not quite

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[1] Dr. Schofield wrote several years before this was shown by Dr. Young, in *Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde* (Chaucer Soc., 1908), ch. iv. In *Anglia*, XXXVII. 76–80, I pointed out that the structural parallel of the *Decameron* to the *Canterbury Tales* is found also in the Questioni episode in the *Filocolo*, and suggested that the names January and May in the *Merchant's Tale* may be a reminiscence from the task in Menedon's story, a garden in January blooming as in May.

[2] A few others may be added, not for any great evidential value, but for their interest if one accepts Rajna's view. Every student of Chaucer knows his fondness for literary reminiscence and precedent. In *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 344, I have pointed out the curiously exact agreement as to the date of the magic feats, the first days of January, probably due to astrological fitness. So in both works we have a January-marvel and a May-garden (*Fr. T.* 906–8). Tarolfo says to Tebano (p. 51), " Io sono dell' ultimo ponente " (Spain); Chaucer's scene is an " ultimo ponente " nearer England. With *Fr. T.* 1357–63 we may compare a passage on pp. 58–9 of *Fil.*, and with 1541–2 one on p. 59. No long passage in *Fr. T.* has called out so much comment as that in which Dorigen tries to nerve herself for suicide by recalling from St. Jerome ancient heroines chaste and faithful unto death (1364–1456). This sort of drawing cold comfort or admonition from contemplating antiquity is common enough in the Middle Ages; an early example is the Anglo-Saxon *Lament of Deor*. The whole *Filocolo* is full of it; especially the Questioni episode, where we find three examples of love-affairs (p. 46), three of unfortunate or evil love-affairs (47), seven of the same (77–9), nine of the good effects of love (84–5), a dozen of the ill effects (87–9). Elsewhere, Biancofiore laments not having defaced her own harmful beauty as a Roman did (I. 177); a disappointed lover recites in soliloquy a list of thirteen wicked women (297–9). There are many similar lists of from two to four examples : see I. 86, 94, 96–7, 100, 101, 104, 123, 186, 219, 344, II. 165, 168. The heroine of *La Fiammetta* (ch. viii.) tries to console herself with a much longer list of unfortunate heroines. Some have thought the passage in the *Franklin's Tale* in part satirical of other writers; but so long and grave a passage is better regarded as an illustration of the charm and impressiveness the mediævals found in association and precedent. After all, Chaucer was a mediæval, and his taste does not always agree with ours. It is easier to see a bit of satire in the
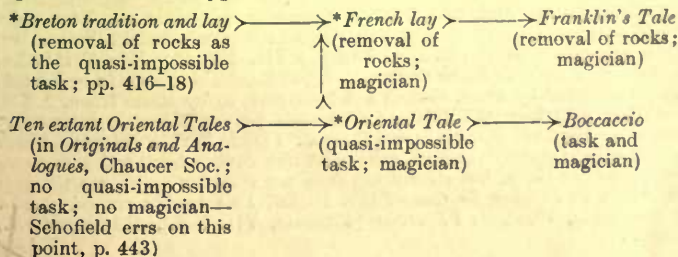
compel conviction, they seem fully as strong as we need expect if the one was based on the other in Chaucer's later and more original period, and rather remarkable if it is not. The most essential of all is the lady's imposition of a seemingly impossible task as the price of her love in order to get rid of her unwelcome suitor. This, or the like of it, is found in no early version but Chaucer's and Boccaccio's. Strangely enough, this fact is almost unnoticed by Dr. Schofield.[1]

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most remarked-on short passage of the poem, the matter-of-fact ending of the rather formal account of sunset in ll. 1015–8—

> But sodeinly bigonne revel newe,
> Til that the brighte sonne lost his hewe;
> For th' orisonte hath reft the sonne his light;
> This is as muche to scye as it was night.

An elaborate way of defining times and seasons is characteristic of the Trecentisti, as of Roman poets, and Dante and Chaucer often do it astronomically (cf. my *Devel. and Chronol.*, p. 134, note). There are many such passages in the *Filocolo* : " when Apollo had hid his rays and the eighth sphere was full of infinite lights," Fileno fled (I. 289); " Apollo allowed his horned sister to appear," etc., when the merchants took Biancofiore (314); " while the night with its shades occupied the earth, the young men rested " (355); and cf. I. 5, 323, 350, II. 20, 22, 31, 80, 141, 148. It is especially to the point that Rajna (pp. 236–7) connects the garden scene, in which the above passage occurs, and the unaccountable " revel newe," with the garden festival at which Menedon tells his tale, and the revived activity in the cool of the Neapolitan day (*Fil.*, II. 119). When " il sole già bassando lasciava più temperato aere ne' luoghi," Fiammetta said, " Noi veggiamo già Febo guardarci con non diritto aspetto, e sentiamo l' aere rinfrescato, e i nostri compagni avere ricominciata la festa "; " this revel newe " went on till " sopravenuta [era] la notte, mostrando già la loro luce le stelle." For once Chaucer may have been impatient of this roundabout artificiality, though a similar passage in *T. and C.* II. 904–5 is serious. Miss Hammond points out a single closer parallel in Fulgentius (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII. 91–2).

[1] Who uses the *Decameron*, and almost ignores the *Filocolo*. At the same time that he barely notices a part of the Boccaccian parallel to Chaucer's version (pp. 436–7), he denies even that both poets drew from a common source. Yet he makes not a little of the remoter parallels at this point to the lays of *Doon* and *Dous Amanz* (416–17). His line of descent may be represented thus, his hypothetical versions being starred—

Breton tradition and lay* >**————>French lay* >**————>*Franklin's Tale*		
(removal of rocks as the quasi-impossible task; pp. 416–18)	⋀(removal of rocks; magician)	(removal of rocks; magician)
	⋀	
Ten extant Oriental Tales >————>***Oriental Tale* >**————> *Boccaccio*		
(in *Originals and Analogues*, Chaucer Soc.; no quasi-impossible task; no magician— Schofield errs on this point, p. 443)	(quasi-impossible task; magician)	(task and magician)

Any one who weighs the facts I have referred to will find it hard to doubt that Chaucer drew at least in part from Menedon's story; it would be almost over-temperate to call this a highly acceptable hypothesis. This fact alone will dispose us to scepticism as to his use of a purely hypothetical version as well. Still, it does not disprove the idea, and all the evidence for it must be fully weighed, as was hardly done in Professor Rajna's article.

The natural point of departure for any one supporting a Breton lay as a source is Dr. Schofield's, the statement in the *Franklin's Prologue* that the tale to follow is one of the lays made by the " olde gentil Britons in hir dayes " (709–15). It is natural to take Chaucer at his word, unless there is something to make us suspicious. But if there is, why should we hesitate to regard this as literary artifice ? " Le caractère ordinaire des lais fit donner le même nom à de petits poèmes narratifs qui avaient pour sujet des aventures analogues, mais qui ne se rapportaient en rien à la Bretagne." [1]   " There are, it should be observed," says Dr. Schofield,[2] " French poems (*e. g. Pyramus and Thisbe, Narcissus*) that have absolutely nothing Breton about them, but still were called lays and included in collections of ' *Lais de Bretaigne* ' [3] simply to ensure popularity at a time when the lays

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Schofield's whole argument, and indeed common sense, precludes the influence of our Oriental versions on the Celtic tradition. With the large number of versions extant, this pure inference of two versions which quite independently introduce the quasi-impossible task is certainly highly unlikely without strong evidence. On this see pp. 64–5 below, and my final note (pp. 75–7) for an analysis of the extant versions.

[1] So says Gaston Paris, the venerated master of all workers in mediæval literature (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXX. 8–9). He cites the lays of Narcissus, Aristotle, Havelok, l'Oiselet, Orpheus and the Earl of Toulouse; but as to the last two does not mention the contrary conclusions in the studies of them by Kittredge (*Amer. Journ. of Philol.* VII. 176–202) and Lüdtke (Berlin, 1881).

[2] P. 434.

[3] Cf. *Romania*, VIII. 30. There is naturally no certain case of a poem which is known to have nothing Celtic about it but calls itself a Breton lay. *L'Épine* comes nearest (*Zt. rom. Philol.* XVII. 233–55; *Rom.* VIII. 35; Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I. 542 ff.). This claims to be Breton, and is accepted by Paris, though not by others, as by Marie (*Rom.* XXII. 610), but all admit its feebleness, and some believe it largely a tissue of reminiscences from Marie's lays (*Zt. rom. Philol.* XXIX. 29–36). Other poems calling themselves lays, somewhat like Breton lays, and sometimes imitated from them, but clearly not such nor claiming to be, are the lays *du Désiré, de l'Ombre, du Conseil* (Fr. Michel, *Lais Inédits des xii. et xiii. siècles*, Paris, 1836), *de l'Épervier* (*Romania*, VII. 1 ff.), *d'Amour* (*ibid.*, 409 ff.).

were in supreme vogue." Perhaps they were hardly that in Chaucer's day; still, all the five MSS. of Marie's lays date from later than 1250 and into the mid-fourteenth century, and the seven other Middle-English poems calling themselves Breton lays Dr. Schofield himself dates 1300–25, after 1350, and about 1400.[1] It is known, of course, to students that by no means all poems calling themselves Breton lays are Celtic in ultimate origin.[2] Marie's lay *Dous Amanz* seems to be Norman, and of the lays in English *Sir Orfeo* is ultimately classical, *The Earl of Toulouse* Aquitanian, *Emare* probably English.[3] In view of this fact concerning about half the English lays, there is no antecedent presumption that the *Franklin's Tale* is ultimately Celtic. But, as Dr. Schofield says, a poem of any origin is a Breton lay if derived through a Breton form. Of the seven lays in English, two, *Launfal* and *Le Fraine*, are from Marie's undoubted Breton lays, and two are pronounced by close students of them to have probably come through a Celtic form,[4] and there is no particular reason to doubt the statement of the others that they are Breton lays in the above sense at least, or at any rate that their French originals claimed to be Breton lays. Still, either French or English poets may well have made the claim unjustly, encouraged thereto by the similarity of their poems to the Breton lays and by the popularity of the latter. So even if Chaucer were an ordinary mediæval poet his unsupported statement as to his source would hardly carry complete conviction. But, as Professor Kittredge says, " Chaucer handled his material with conscious literary art, and is much more likely to have treated a

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[1] *Engl. Lit. Norm. Conq. to Ch.*, 181, 463–4. In discussing the Breton lays I have been guided by Paris' list of twenty or more in French given in *Litt. Franç. au M. Age* (Paris, 1890), pp. 91–2, and by Schofield's of seven in English (omitting *Frankl. T.*), *op. cit.* 181, but have supplemented Paris' list somewhat. Professor Foulet argues (*Zt. rom. Philol.* XXX. 698–711) that by Chaucer's day the Breton lays in French were little known, and that he was imitating the English lay of *Sir Orfeo.* His views are unconvincing, but in any case hardly affect my argument.

[2] On this whole subject cf., among other references, Foulet, in *Zt. rom. Philol.* XXIX. 19–56, 293–322.

[3] There is no close relation between this lay and four similar Breton folk-tales recorded in the nineteenth century (see Suchier, *Œuvres de Beaumanoir*, S.A.T.F., I. lix. ff.).

[4] *Sir Orfeo,* discussed by Kittredge in *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* VII. 176–202, and *The Earl of Toulouse,* by Lüdtke (Berlin, 1881). It must be said, though, that in postulating a Breton source for the latter its editor shows no other evidence than the statement in the English lay itself (pp. 131 ff., 163).

tale in this fashion[1] than the obscure translator who has left us *Emare*." It is true that when he names an individual author-ity it is usually correctly, but this is quite a different matter. Even with an individual author, when it is Boccaccio he is always and notoriously elusive. Whatever view we take of the Lollius matter, we can hardly believe that he thought some one named Lollius really wrote the original of the *Troilus*. In the *Knight's Tale*, for a fuller account of Emily's rites at the altar of Diana he refers to " Stace of Thebes and thise bokes olde " (l. 2294); really he has been drawing with especial closeness from Boccaccio's much fuller account.[2] In the account of Zenobia in the *Monk's Tale* there seems little doubt he drew on Boccaccio again, yet for further detail he refers " un-to my maister Petrak " (3515). If for some reason Chaucer never names Boccaccio, the writer to whom he owed most, but is either wholly silent about his use of him, or else transfers the authority now to " Lollius," now to Statius and " these old books," now to Petrarch, we need not be surprised if he fathers another work taken from him on a Breton lay. The wonder would be, as Rajna justly says, if he had named the real source.[3] But even if he did not use a version by Boccaccio, his statement about the Breton lay need not carry conviction.

By far the strongest of all the arguments for a Breton lay as source is that from resemblances in sentiments, phraseology and minor situations between the *Franklin's Prologue* and *Tale* and the extant Breton lays. In pointing out this evidence for the source he favours, Professor Schofield [4] is even more convincing

[1] *I. e.* have borrowed from Boccaccio and changed the scene to Brittany, *loc. cit.* p. 180. Every one knows that when he authorizes a particular state-ment by " bokes " or " olde stories " we are likely enough to find him apparently drawing on his imagination. No one will suppose me to think it a question of literary honesty; it was a matter of artifice, of little moment to him or his readers.

[2] Cf. my *Devel. and Chronol. of Chaucer's Works*, p. 228.

[3] *Rom.* XXXII. 267. Here I have been largely repeating Rajna's argument. With all we know and surmise now, it is hard to believe Chaucer, or even the friends who would have the first taste of his poetry, ignorant of Boc-caccio's authorship of the works he uses. Thanks to Dr. Schofield and Dr. E. K. Rand, we also have reason to believe that the contemporary author of *Pearl* knew one of Boccaccio's eclogues (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XIX. 203 ff.).

[4] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XVI. 425–32. The force of some of Dr. Schofield's parallels may be questioned, especially of those which are shared by the Oriental and Boccaccian versions, but Professor Rajna seems to belittle them too much (pp. 224 ff.). The list might even be added

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on the one hand than Professor Rajna on the other. But there is this vital difference in the conclusions to be drawn, that while Rajna's parallels go to show that Chaucer knew a single work, Schofield's merely show that he was familiar with a type, and therefore are ambiguous. It might mean that he borrowed from a single lay, it may mean that he imitated several.[1] This latter possibility Dr. Schofield does not ignore,[2] but he rejects it simply with the words : " But such an hypothesis is manifestly untenable. It not only runs counter to all that we know of Chaucer's methods, but violates every probability based in other studies in literary history." But does it ? Let us examine these two statements.

The situation involved by the hypothesis is about this : he derived most of his matter from one source, as to which he is silent, and his form [3] and certain detail from another, which he names. Now for the *Anelida and Arcite* he took a story from some unknown source, very probably his own fancy and fragmentary recollections, attributed it to Statius and " Corinne " (by which he may have meant Ovid and his works), and embodied in it situations and detail certainly from Statius and perhaps from Ovid.[4] For the *Monk's Tale* he drew material from many diverse sources, such as *Le Roman de la Rose,* Boethius, Dante, and worked it over into a series of verse " tragedies " like the prose ones which he had certainly seen in Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum*

to a little. Compare the relation of Arveragus and Dorigen to that of the king and queen at the beginning of *Tydorel.* In a situation both analogous and contrasting, the hero of the lay usually called *Eliduc* lays great stress on the importance of keeping one's word (ll. 729–39), as Arveragus does (1472–9). Cf. also *Eliduc* 711–39 with *Fr. T.* 1459–64, 1094–6 (but similarly *Fil.* p. 58); also the parallels to *Fr. T.* 810 noted on p. 18 above. With the prologue about the " olde gentil Britons " and their lays, compare not only *Equitan* 1–10, but also *Tyolet* 23–40.

[1] Similarly Lot and Rajna. Perhaps some of these very lays.

[2] " Some one, indeed, after observing its great similarity in particular passages to parts of several of Marie's lays, might possibly suggest that this only evinced Chaucer's familiarity with Marie, and that he deliberately put together a new story of which the various parts are simple echoes of her poems, and for this reason termed a ' Breton lay ' what was really his own invention " (p. 432, note). Recognizing, as he does on the very next page, the numerous Oriental and Western versions of the story, including Boccaccio's, Dr. Schofield can hardly mean to attribute to anybody who knows the facts the idea seemingly implied in the words " put together a new story," " really his own invention." I am surely doing him but justice in supposing the idea he is rejecting to be about that which I feel obliged to defend.

[3] By this I mean the general literary impression he wished to produce.

[4] Dr. E. F. Shannon, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XXVII. 461–85. Of course he also made some use of Boccaccio's *Teseide.*

Illustrium, which title stands at the head in four out of eight MSS. Better yet, for the *Sir Thopas* he conceived a story doubtless much as he had conceived the *Anelida*, and in a vein of pleasantry worked it into the form of the weaker English romances, adopting innumerable turns of expression from them,[1] and mentioning some of them. Will any one maintain for a moment that it is what is professes to be, " a ryme I lerned longe agoon " ? Does the above hypothesis run so strongly " counter to all that we know of Chaucer's methods " ?[2] How can we deny that he who wrote these three poems might have followed in the *Franklin's Tale* the plan we are discussing ? This is certainly enough to prove that Chaucer sometimes tried to produce the effect of a definite literary type with material which might have been adapted to a type quite different. True, the cases are not absolutely parallel. In these last it is not an individual author that he is silent about, but, once more, he is always silent about Boccaccio when he follows him; in them he probably had the form in mind first and selected the matter to embody it, but if with the *Franklin's Tale* he had the latter in mind first,

> Matere appetyteth form al-wey,

the later Chaucer would have done more than baldly translate this prose story, which in many ways would not suit him.[3] Its fitness for the form he chose is shown by the wonderful success of his recasting. Why should he not have been thoroughly charmed with the lay-type, of which no one is more deservedly warm in his praise than Dr. Schofield, and with his very evident desire to vary the *Canterbury Tales* as much as possible, have fashioned one in its likeness ? Such a supposition is far from being discountenanced by literary history; many cases may be cited to show that the theory being discussed does not lack historical

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[1] See the dissertation by J. Bennewitz (Halle, 1879), and Kölbing in *Engl. Stud.* XI. 495–511.

[2] Chaucer often shows great interest and skill in working material of diverse origins into a harmonious whole. The most striking illustration is the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* ; others are the *Troilus, Parliament of Fowls,* the prologue of the *Legend,* the *Merchant's Tale.* His progress in the free treatment of his sources is seen by comparing the *Manciple's Tale* (from Ovid) with such of the *Legends* as are from Ovid.

[3] For the stories of Constance and Griselda, also from foreign prose, he also chose a well-marked literary form, distinguished by leisurely pathos and splendour. To his strong feeling for literary congruity and literary types are due much of his versatility and variety.

precedent [1] any more than support in Chaucer's practice or
inherent probability. I am far from wishing to minimize
the *prima facie* Breton character of the *Franklin's Tale ;*
to do so would be a reflection on his skill; I merely affirm
that the *prima facie* interpretation of it is not the only one
possible.

But Dr. Schofield has more subtle arguments. He believes
that this very story can be found hidden in Celtic tradition,
and restores it thus. A husband and wife are remarkably happy
together; their love is put to a test, which it nobly bears (pp. 413,
416) by the wife's putting herself in the power of a suitor. In
order to rid herself of him in a gentle manner, she has declared
she can be his only if he can produce a certain marvel (416, 443),
which seems to be the removal of vast rocks (417-8). This he
does, though only in appearance, by his own knowledge of magic
(417-20, 443). The wife is given by her husband to the lover
(443), but somehow a respite is obtained, and finally the lover
releases her (443).[2] It is vital to realize how Dr. Schofield
brings together this story, essentially identical with Chaucer's
save for the respite and for the absence of the magician and of
the final *dubbio,* " which was the moste free ? " He attributes to
the hypothetical Celtic story every element in the *Franklin's Tale*
to which he can find a parallel, near or remote, in the most various

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[1] Consider Geoffrey of Monmouth, with his "librum vetustissimum " pro-
cured by Archdeacon Walter, and his airs of a critical and exact historian;
Lodge's *Rosalynde,* probably drawn from the tale of Gamelyn in some MS.
of the *Canterbury Tales,* but dressed up in all the finery of Euphuism and
pretending to be a posthumous work of Euphues himself; *Don Quixote,*
with its Cid Hamet ben Engeli,who sometimes writes in character; Walpole's
Castle of Otranto, with its archaic manner and elaborate fiction as to origin;
Chatterton's Rowley poems, with their imitation of mediæval style and
language; the " Old Song " chapter-headings in the Waverley novels, often
invented by Scott himself; the pretended mediæval Breton songs in the
Marquis de Villemarqué's *Barzaz-Breiz ;* Stevenson's *New Arabian Nights*
and *Dynamiter,* with their " erudite Arabian " and inflated style; and
innumerable " old legends " and imitation ballads, concocted by ingenious
literary people. These cases are naturally not exactly uniform, but in
some of them, as with some of the lays, and as I am postulating of the
Franklin's Tale, the authors adopted a fitting form for a content that
was first in mind.

[2] With other details, such as the husband's going soldiering in England
(431), the consolation of the wife by her friends (431), the declaration
of love at a garden festival (428-30), and the lover's despair (430), it is not
clear whether Dr. Schofield thinks they first appeared in the Celtic or the
French form, probably the latter. His presentation of the story is less
cut-and-dried than mine, and more tentative, and, as will be seen, his
conception has to be formulated by the reader for himself.

works believed to be of Celtic origin.[1] He never shows that any two are found together.[2] Of course his method is the only one possible in this kind of attempt, and one must appreciate the skill with which he uses it; but, even when the points of resemblance are more characteristic than they are here, it can never do more than establish a probability as to source, more or less strong.

This it might do in the present case, had we no story in which so many of the elements of the *Franklin's Tale* are found together that nobody can refuse to call them versions of it. But we have a dozen or so, almost any one of which will serve, and the two by Boccaccio are nearer Chaucer's than even this one is which Dr. Schofield has elicited from Celtic tradition. While the marvel is not the illusory removal of rocks, but the production of a garden in January, they, like the tale, lack the respite and have the magician and *dubbio*.[3] This obviously close resemblance Dr.

[1] The happy marriage in Geoffrey of Monmouth (the couple being Arviragus and Genuissa, on which see later), the quasi-impossible condition for the granting of love in the lays of *Doon* and *Dous Amanz*, the removing of rocks in another part of Geoffrey (there not illusory but actual), magic illusions in various romances (especially Arthurian), the necessity of fidelity even to a rash promise (sometimes of giving away a beloved wife) in *The Earl of Toulouse* and *Sir Orfeo*, etc. (pp. 437 ff.), this element and also the respite and escape in the Mabinogi of Pwyll, the Irish story of Mongan, etc. (443, 449).

[2] Except for the last two items in the above note, where it is of no consequence, since the release is utterly involuntary in all the cases cited; the lover is outwitted or forced. On the wooing of Etain cf. Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II. 52–3, and Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I. 113–33.

[3] So Boccaccio's versions contain all the elements of the *Franklin's Tale* which Dr. Schofield finds scattered in Celtic tradition, except the rocks and the illusion. The latter certainly is characteristically Celtic, but, as both he and Rajna point out, far from exclusively so. And even characteristic motives may become public property. Chaucer brings in illusion elsewhere, as in *H.F.* 1277–81, *Fri. T.* 1462–8, *Sq. T.* 217–19, *W.B.T.* 991–6 (of Celtic origin). The idea in *Frankl. T.* may well have originated with the illusions actually practised by jugglers (cf. ll. 1139 ff. and the first three of the above passages); the word is constantly used by theological writers of the feats of magicians. Above all, given the task of the removal of vast rocks existing in Chaucer's day all around a well-known locality, how could he have had the face to represent them as really removed ? Geoffrey is accounting for the presence of the rocks at Stonehenge in his own day. As to the promise, Boccaccio affords a closer parallel than the Celtic cases. In the latter it is made by the husband or lover, and not by the woman as in Chaucer, Boccaccio and almost all the Oriental versions; and further belongs to the well-known type, the Unnamed Boon, as the others do not (except partially No. 3 of the Oriental versions). In the unnamed-boon type, the right to ask is first won, and the shock comes in the unexpectedness of the favour desired; in the other, the favour desired is known, and the shock comes in the unexpected winning of the right to ask. Further, the unnamed-boon motive is of course common even outside the class of work we

Schofield does not ignore, though he hardly gives it the attention it deserves; for no very clear reason except that he thinks Chaucer used a lay, he rejects not only the idea that Chaucer knew one of Boccaccio's versions, but also the idea that both men drew immediately from a common source. "The very obvious agreement between them [Boccaccio's novel and the Breton lay] is easily explained if we suppose that the French author of that lay, when he was fashioning the old Celtic story of Arviragus to accord with the taste of the time, made use of some accessible version of the Oriental tale, current in the West, on which Boccaccio based his novel" (pp. 436–7). The only elements which he thinks the French lay, and therefore Chaucer, owed to the Oriental version are the magician (who as a matter of fact never appears in the latter), the lover's extreme generosity, and the final *dubbio* (436–7, 443).

So what Dr. Schofield does is to conjecture an early Celtic story identical in its ground-work with the Oriental one, and in nearly all its elements with Boccaccio's, and this apparently without admitting any possible influence in either direction between either of the last two and the Celtic tale.[1] Now of course a scholar does not shock his reader's sense of probability without strong arguments to back up his opinion, and Dr. Schofield offers some which we must entertain till we can invalidate them.

His chief evidence for the tradition is that the name of the husband in his reconstruction of it, an ancient British king in Geoffrey

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are discussing; cf. *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 1009–13, and the Biblical story of Jephthah (*Judges* XI.). We even find it in the modern world, if we can believe the *Chicago Tribune* for 21 Sept., 1912. The Kaiserin, visiting a school in Alsace, is said to have promised a "star pupil" anything she might ask; the patriotic child begged that French might be taught in the school, for the first time in many years, and the Kaiserin felt obliged to agree.

[1] Professor Rajna (p. 221, note) seems uncertain whether Dr. Schofield means to exclude Oriental influence on the Celtic tradition at the basis of the lay. But must not silence surely mean exclusion of so obvious an idea, which, were it possible, would greatly strengthen his case? Others may ignore, if he does, an idea so very unlikely. Still less, for chronological reasons, could any one consider admitting influence, on the original Celtic tradition, of the developed Oriental tale (with the task and magician) which he postulates as Boccaccio's source. It is less easy to see why he denies (p. 436) influence on Boccaccio of the Celtic tale in its French form; he seems to prefer an astounding coincidence. The only connection he admits between the Oriental tales and the lay is "possibly" foreign influence on the Breton author (*not* on the original insular tradition), but "much more probably" on the French redactor (p. 435).

▷ of Monmouth,[1] is Arviragus, who loved and married Genuissa, a name which Dr. Schofield was the first to connect with Dorigen's. He believes this means that Geoffrey knew an early story about them, and that " it is most probable that it was that very Celtic story which formed the ultimate basis of the *Franklin's Tale*" (p. 413). " There was probably in this early story a severe test to which each was subjected. . . . There is every reason to believe, moreover, that this, their trouble, was due to the wooing of the wife by an importunate suitor, whom she dismissed, as she thought finally, though because of her kind-heartedness without unnecessary offence, by requiring him to achieve a marvel before he could enjoy her love " (p. 416). It is essential to realize that in these words Dr. Schofield is simply developing and does not claim to be proving his theory; he presents no evidence for this story, or any story but Geoffrey's, about this Arviragus.[2]   He

[1] *Hist. Reg. Brit.* IV. 15.

[2] Unless we are able to see it in certain names which Dr. Schofield points to (pp. 421–2) in Gloucestershire and South Wales, as showing that the story was originally current in Great Britain, and that it and its proper names passed thence into Breton tradition.   (1) The name *Arviri* or *Arveri* (genitive case, no other words with it) appears on the ruins of an ancient *villa rustica* near Chedworth, about fifteen miles E.S.E. of Gloucester, which city Geoffrey associates with Arviragus (see *Corp. Inscript. Lat.*, Berlin, 1873, VII. 228; Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, I. 231).   His name might perhaps be extended from *Arvirius*.   But it is certainly a large assumption that *Arviri* refers to the same person as Geoffrey's Arviragus, and one cannot but ask, too, what this chieftain's name is doing on a farmhouse.   Still, the name might conceivably be significant in connection with clearer testimony.   But Dr. Schofield shows none.   (2) For none is supplied by the existence of a Penmark in Glamorganshire—an inconspicuous place two miles from the Bristol Channel, and sixty from Gloucester as the crow flies.   On this place see *Iolo MSS.* (Welsh MSS. Soc., Llandovery, 1848), pp. 493, 636.   To have localized Kayrrud by it would have been a little like *ignotum per ignotius*.   (3) Dr. Schofield would identify Kayrrud with " the mythical place Kaeroedd (Caeroeth) in which various people . . . . were imprisoned, and which was located at Gloucester " (p. 422). In making this last statement Dr. Schofield seems to have been misled by his authorities; for though Mabon was imprisoned at Gloucester (*Mabinogion, Kulhwch and Olwen*, toward the end), it was Arthur and others who were imprisoned at the place he mentions (triads of the *Red Book*, in Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II. 244–5).   According to the tradition it was near the abbey of Margam, in the west of Glamorganshire, seventy miles from Gloucester and twenty-five from Penmark.   Further, it is called not Caeroeth but Carchar (or Caer) Oeth ag Anoeth; it was a mythical prison for enemies and traitors built by Manawyddan, son of Llyr, out of the bones of slaughtered Romans, and is recognized by Rhŷs (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 347) as representing the abode of the dead.   See *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 185–7, 263, 597–600, 670–1; *Kulhwch and Olwen* (early part); Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I. 197, 265, II. 215, 245, 294.   Since it is nowhere near Gloucester, all reason for connecting this grisly place with Chaucer's tale seems to vanish.   I have also shown (p. 10 above) that Dr. Schofield is greatly mistaken in

also points to the name of the lover in Chaucer, Aurelius, as that
of another early British king elsewhere in Geoffrey,[1] at whose
behest Merlin (really, not in show, like Chaucer's clerk) transported
huge rocks from Ireland to Stonehenge. This point he does not
press, but he clearly means (p. 418) that here too Geoffrey bor-
rowed from the same early story.

This is highly ingenious, and under some circumstances might
be tentatively accepted. For certainly it is hard to attribute
to chance the fact that the names of the only three named persons
in the *Franklin's Tale*, Arveragus, Dorigen and Aurelius, corre-
spond so strikingly to Geoffrey's Arviragus,[2] Genuissa and Au-
relius; and further, that in each case the second is beloved wife
to the first, and the third secures the aid of a wizard to effect the
real or seeming removal of vast rocks. In being the first to point
out this close agreement, Dr. Schofield has done brilliant service
toward solving the puzzling problem of the origin of the *Franklin's*

calling Kayrrud " a name that is not to be found in Armorica " (p. 422).
Nor is his spelling, " Kayrud," found in a single one out of the eight pub
lished MSS. To sum up : the name Arvir(i)us found fifteen miles from
Gloucester in one direction, a Penmark sixty miles from Gloucester in the
other, and a Carchar (or Caer) Oeth ag Anoeth twenty-five miles beyond
Penmark are not a very strong chain to connect the *Franklin's Tale* with
British tradition. Some of Dr. Schofield's points hereabout (421-2) may
throw interesting light on Geoffrey and his methods, but not on Chaucer.
I add a few things on Arviragus. (1) For this name Dr. Schofield says the
Welsh versions of Geoffrey substitute *Gweirydd*, thought to be perhaps
phonetically connected (Schofield, p. 423). It is curious that according
to a heraldic and genealogical piece among the *Iolo MSS.* (34, 410) one
" Gweirydd, the son of Seisyllt the Aged, Lord of Llancarvan and Penmark,"
was among the chieftains dispossessed by Sir Robert Fitzhamon. But this
document is of more than doubtful authenticity, I infer, and the date of the
event is late eleventh century. In any case there is no plausible way of
connecting this luckless wight with Chaucer's Arveragus, who lived " not
far from " the Breton Penmark. (2) Another etymology for Arviragus
than Schofield's has been suggested—*Ard-riagh*, high king—by Pearson and
Strong (*Juvenal*, note on I. iv. 127); they err in quoting Gaelic, but equiva-
lent forms are found in other Celtic languages, such as Old Breton and
Cornish. (3) The earliest historian of the Bretons, Pierre le Baud, seems
to have known no mythical tale about Arviragus; in the early part of his
fifteenth-century *Cronicques & Ystoires des Bretons* (ed. by le Vte. de
Calan, I. 192-4), based on Geoffrey, he mentions Arviragus' marriage, but
does not even name his wife. *Aueragas* is mentioned in a life of Joseph of
Arimathea (E.E.T.S., p. 43, ll. 193-4), no doubt from Geoffrey.
[1] VIII. 10-12; also of still another (XI. 5).
[2] A name seemingly known, apart from Geoffrey's influence, nowhere
else except in Juvenal (Bk. I., Sat. iv., l. 127), whom Geoffrey quotes and
probably borrowed it from. Dr. Schofield himself makes this last suggestion
(409-10, 422), and even offers evidence for it; but if Geoffrey got King
Arviragus from Juvenal, we have less reason than ever to think he got him
or anything about him from Celtic tradition.

Tale.   But his is not the most natural explanation of the relation here.   Even if Chaucer had not enshrined " English Gaufride " among distinguished historians,[1] how could we deny his probable familiarity with one of the most influential writers of the whole Middle Ages, equally on romantic and historical literature ? Either with or without an eye on the present problem, how can we deny that Chaucer might have borrowed names and possibly a suggestion for an incident from him ?[2]   Needing ancient British names, what more natural than to resort to the *Historia Regum Britanniæ ?*   And an almost conclusive argument against Dr. Schofield's interpretation is that in not one of the Breton lays extant in French or English is there a single character whose name has a Latin form.   Considering the infinite transformations, accidental and deliberate, of proper names in early literature and popular tradition, is it not far less probable that these (and perhaps *Kayrrud* and *Penmark*) passed the seas and survived many centuries and three or four changes of language [3] than that they entered the story late, even from the hand of Chaucer himself ?   Did he not rather cast about for ancient names to carry out the ancient air of his poem and extract them from Geoffrey ? [4]

Dr. Schofield's strong belief in a common traditional origin for Geoffrey's and Chaucer's Arveragus seems to be what leads him to say (p. 406) : " A careful analysis of the *Franklin's Tale* reveals the fact that at bottom it is a simple story of an unusually happy marriage," a point on which he lays frequent stress.   It is often hard to say, without examining cognate tales, what a story is at bottom.   In this case, an examination of the only ones we have does not confirm his view.   In two-thirds of the Oriental versions the woman goes to her lover willingly or eagerly, so far as we can

[1] *House of Fame,* 1470.
[2] The borrowing of names would be paralleled by Arcite's *alias* of Philostrate (*Kn. T.* 1428), from Boccaccio's *Filostrato ;* by Arcite's name and (partially) antecedents in the *Anelida,* from the *Teseide ;* perhaps by January and May in *Merch. T.* (p. 56, n., above).   Among many borrowed incidents in Chaucer we may remember his use of the *Filocolo* in the *Troilus.*
[3] Cf. Rajna, pp. 211–12.
[4] Dr. Schofield, not overlooking this latter possibility, does not " think it necessary to postulate " it (p. 418).   Strangely enough, a little later (p. 423, note) he admits, because the Welsh named this king otherwise, that the name Arviragus must be due to Geoffrey's influence ; does he mean on the French lay, or does he, after all, admit that Chaucer got the name from Geoffrey ?

see, and very unwillingly only in two.[1] In the *Franklin's Tale* itself, so unessential is the happiness of the marriage that the main incidents would be the same if Dorigen's motive in assigning the task were nothing but care for her own honour or distaste for Aurelius. That her feeling for Arveragus adds greatly to the pathos and nobility of the story is an obvious reason why Chaucer should emphasize it.[2] Another obvious reason is that this tale seems to be the climax of the so-called Marriage Group of the *Canterbury Tales*, and in it a well-composed marriage relation is lauded in contrast to the corrupt or distorted ones in earlier tales.[3] This and the *dénouement* of the story will also account for the discussion of the ideal relation of husband and wife, in which Dr. Schofield finds similarities to the lay of *Equitan* (pp. 427–8). And even if he had not somewhat over-emphasized the felicity of the marriage in Geoffrey, surely happy marriages are not so rare in literature and tradition as to afford much guidance in a question of origins. And yet we need not deny all connection between the love of Arviragus for Genuissa and that of Arveragus for Dorigen. Geoffrey's words may be what led Chaucer to name his hero thus; and, more interesting yet, to give his heroine the Breton name *Dorigen* (half-echoing *Genuissa*), which I have shown earlier seems to belong usually to either a man or a place.[4] Further, we may see the influence of Geoffrey in the name Aurelius, and perhaps in the nature of the task.[5]

[1] Nos. 2, 4–6, 8 ?, 9, 10 and 1, 3, respectively (cf. my final note).

[2] This is perhaps the chief point of superiority over Boccaccio's versions. In both, though the woman is sincere in rebuffing her lover, she is frivolous and a little sly, and nothing is said of her love for her husband (though his for her is mentioned in the *Filocolo*). The least ideal of all versions is that in the *Decameron*, where the husband bids her go lest the necromancer should do them a mischief ! This is interesting in connection with Rajna's patriotic remark (pp. 219–20, note) that Chaucer has lowered Aurelius beneath Tarolfo by making him less ready to stand by his debt to the magician; to which with equal patriotism we may rejoin,—which was it shabbier to send away penniless, the wretched old fellow in the *Filocolo*, or that prosperous citizen the Orleans clerk ? Of course in tracing stories human character and emotion are far less important than incident.

[3] Cf. Kittredge in *Mod. Philol.* IX. 1 ff. The exact date of *Frankl. T.* is unknown, but there is no reason to doubt that it is contemporaneous with the idea of this group.

[4] See chapter IV. above. But I showed that Droguen (Dorguen) was an occasional wrong name for an early Breton princess.

[5] Orleans, where Aurelius sought help and his brother had studied, is Aurelia, Aurelianum, in Latin. The rock task was a happier choice than the garden task, because it introduces a fine stroke of dramatic irony; Dorigen sets it because of her anxiety for her husband on his travels, yet it almost ends in parting her from him.

The only one of Dr. Schofield's arguments which I have not mentioned, I believe, is that from the Breton scene of the poem (p. 421), in which he naturally sees some confirmation for his theory. In any case this argument hangs on that from Chaucer's statement that the poem is a Breton lay; if this was artifice, Chaucer would naturally feign also that it was

> beside the Breton shore
> The wizard clerk astounded Dorigen.[1]

In the sixth chapter I have done full justice, I trust, to this matter, and shown that there is another method of accounting for the local knowledge shown by Chaucer. But, more than this, I am greatly mistaken if this local knowledge does not go to prove the opposite of Dr. Schofield's view; in fact, to throw doubt on any argument for a Breton lay as source.

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[1] Chaucer was perhaps the first poet to show much attention to "local colour," suitable dialect (*Reeve's Prologue* and *Tale*), and the like. In general there is no strong presumption, of course, that a narrative is localized where its originals or congeners are; change of scene for the sake of vividness, familiarity or other reasons is common enough. The Norse versions of *Yonec* and *Lecheor* change from Caeruent and St. Pantelion (if that is a place) to Cornwall (*Rom.* VIII. 34, 37; *Rev. Celt.* XXVIII. 328; but cf. *Zt. frz. Spr.* XX. 126–7). "The Breton lay of *Lanval* is localized at Kardoil (Carlisle), while its pendant *Graelent* is localized in Brittany" (Schofield, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XVI. 423). The French lay *Le Fraisne* is set near Dol, the English vaguely "in the west cuntre," or "in Briteyne." The numerous versions of the *Earl of Toulouse* are set in many different places (Lüdtke's edition, pp. 164–5, etc.). One version of the English lay of *Sir Degarre* puts the scene in "Litel Bretaygne" (Abbotsford Club, 1849, ll. 7, 1051), the other in England (*Percy Folio MS.*, Vol. III. ll. 7, 858). In the European versions of our tale the scene is always different—Spain in the *Filocolo*, Friuli in the *Decameron*, Brittany in Chaucer, Babylon in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (XII. 4), Athens in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Four Plays in One*. Chaucer, especially, localizes his narratives to suit himself. It was probably he who set the *Miller's Tale* at Oxford (cf. *Anglia Anz.* VII. 81–4), the *Reeve's* at Cambridge (cf. *Engl. Stud.* IX. 240–66), the *Cook's* in London, the *Sumner's* at Holderness in Yorkshire (French analogue placed near Antwerp : *Orig. and Anal.*, p. 137), most or all of them doubtless of French origin. The *Prioress' Tale* is the only one of two or three dozen variously localized versions of the story which is set in Asia (Brown, *Miracle of Our Lady*, Ch. Soc., 1910, p. 55), and the *Pardoner's Tale* the only one of numerous versions which is set in Flanders (*Orig. and Anal.*, pp. 131–4, 417–35). The location of the *Merchant's Tale*, in Lombardy, evidently at Pavia (ll. 1245–6), is probably due to Chaucer (cf. Varnhagen in *Anglia Anz.* VII. 155–65). As to the *Shipman's Tale* (St. Denis near Paris) and the *Squire's* (Sarrai in Tartary) we cannot say, but must suspect that they owe their local habitation to him. All this justifies the opinion that, except for tales of well known and dignified and literary origin, Chaucer was apt to set realistic tales in familiar localities, and more romantic ones in remote climes. It certainly dismisses any presumption that the original of the *Franklin's Tale* was set "nat fer fro Penmark."

We have seen how much topographic detail there is in the *Franklin's Tale*, and with what nicety it suits the locality named, except that the description fits a high shore better than a notably flat one. The rocks at Penmarch are still among the best known on the whole Breton coast; the most dangerous are, as is clearly the case in the poem, some distance out from the shore; modern travellers and geographers notice their blackness; the place where Arveragus lived, an obscure one, as Chaucer implies by defining it as " nat fer fro Penmark," bears a name wholly Breton, occasionally found yet not conspicuous in Brittany; its implication of a Gallo-Roman settlement for some reason or other fits the ancient setting of the poem in an almost uncanny way, and seems the more natural because there are many such remains in the vicinity. It may seem to the reader, as it did at first to the writer, that all this goes to show that Chaucer's source was a Breton lay. But it proves too much. In this fullness and exactness of detail the *Franklin's Tale* contrasts vividly with the extant Breton lays in French and English, none of which describes or requires, even if it names, a particular locality except *Dous Amanz*.[1] This involves " un halt munt merveilles grant," at Pitres on the lower Seine, up which the hero carries the heroine, falling dead on top from the strain. This place is not in Brittany at all, but in a well-known part of Normandy, and the romantic story has survived in the locality to the present day,[2] as seems to be the case with no other of the lays. The description seems to be on the whole so concrete and accurate that Professor Suchier [3] has suggested that Marie had herself known Pitres, a precedent for my suggestion as to the *Franklin's Tale*. It is certainly hard to believe in either case that all the detail is traditional. In almost all the other lays [4] the localities, if named at all, are extremely well known, and the detail is always of the dimmest, an unnamed haven, stream, forest, city—one element in the faint charm of these poems. Every reader of them will accept Gaston Paris' words, " D'ordinaire, les aventures qu'ils racontent ne

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[1] *Doon* (*Romania*, VIII. 61) requires two places a good way apart; those mentioned, Southampton and Edinburgh, are very ill-chosen, for several of the lovers are said to have made the journey in a day, without preternatural help, though the author is good enough to tell us they arrived all tired out.

[2] Warnke's edition, p. lxxxvi.; Paris in *Romania*, VIII. 34.

[3] Quoted in *Bibliotheca Normannica*, Vol. VI. (Marie's *Fabeln*), p. cxii.

[4] See pp. 72-3 below.

reçoivent aucune détermination de temps ou de lieu." [1]   To be sure, the lay underlying the tale might be an exceptional as well as a hypothetical one, but if some make much of resemblances others may dwell on differences.

This fullness of detail in a French lay would be particularly surprising in view of the part of Brittany where the scene is laid. Brittany has long been regarded as consisting of " haute Bretagne " or " Bretagne française," [2] to the east and bordering on France, and " basse Bretagne," " la Bretagne bretonnante," [3] more fully Celtic in language and feeling, westward and isolated, with the Pointe de Penmarch at the far end. Of all the Breton lays in French or English (" wel nyne and twenty ") probably only one in its present form, and only two possibly, can be even partially localized in " la Bretagne bretonnante." The father of the hero of *Guigemar* " esteit sire de Liün " (l. 30), apparently the large, well-known district called Léon [4] in northern Finistère, where the action appears to start and end. No other Breton place appears, and nothing depends on this location, which is left as indistinct as the vague land beyond the sea where most of the action takes place. The only Breton localities in the other lays [5] are Dol (*Le Fraisne*, 253, 341, 372), Mont St. Michel (*Milun*,

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[1] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXX. 9.   " Time, place and circumstance are not significant in the so-called Breton lays.   They usually relate incidents that happened . . . in a land vaguely designated. . . . Let the story . . . be localized in a region quite remote from the first scene of the action, and the reader hardly notices the change " (Dr. Schofield's *Engl. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 174). Certainly none of this could be said of the *Franklin's Tale*. It may be suggested that local detail survived here because it is essential; so it is, a small part of it, but that gives no assurance that the rest, and the names Kayrrud or even Penmark, would have survived. In many of the lays the place-names give critics much trouble.   On the other hand, the fact that Chaucer defines his locality by a dreaded sea-mark makes one the readier to believe that this was first done by one of a foreign and seafaring nation, and by one whose business had thrown him much with seamen and travellers.

[2] The modern departments of Ille-et-Vilaine and Loire-Inférieure, and somewhat more.

[3] Somewhat less than the departments of Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère and le Morbihan.

[4] Sometimes confused with Lyonesse (Lothian); cf. *Romania*, XXV. 17, and Béroul's *Tristan* (S.A.T.F., s.v. *Loenoi*). The parallels to the story are mostly insular, but one or two of the personal names may point to a connection with Léon.

[5] There is some doubt about the scene of *Yonec*, which mentions " Caruënt," on the " Duëlas."   Warnke (in his edition) and Brugger (*Zt. frz. Spr.* XX. 125 ff.) find the latter, but not the former, in Côtes-du-Nord or Finistère; Paris (*Romania*, VIII. 34), with whom most people will agree, finds the former, but not the latter, in Great Britain.   Here again nothing

385; *Doon*, 216), St. Malo (*Laustic*, 7), Nantes (? *Equitan*, 12; *Chaitivel*, 9, 73; *Tidorel*, 19, 235).[1] All these are important places on the extreme eastern edge of Brittany, near the French border. All the other lays, French and English, are localized either vaguely " en Bretaingne," in Normandy, in the British Isles, or farther away. This apparent disregard of " la Bretagne bretonnante," save for one bare mention of the large, well-known district of Léon, does not seem accidental; localities may have survived or been chosen which were familiar to French- or English-speaking people. It seems temperate, therefore, to say that the precise locality of the *Franklin's Tale*, so far from being an argument for a Breton lay as source, offers a bit of evidence against it. If not a proof,

It speaks against her with the other proofs.[2]

depends on the location, and the scene is mysteriously transferred to the insular Karlion. *Ignaure* is localized at *Riol* or *Ariel* (Bartsch, *Langue et Litt. Franç.*, col. 553), which Brugger (*loc. cit.*, p. 147) thinks is Rieux, 5 km. south of Redon, well in the east of Brittany. An attempt has been made to show that Karlion and Karduel were originally Breton, but it has not found favour.

[1] Warnke, *Lais der Marie de France*, Bibl. Normannica, Halle, 1885; *Doon* and *Tydorel* in *Romania*, VIII. 61 ff. While there is a Mont St. Michel in Finistère, it is quite in the interior of the country, and the more celebrated one is clearly meant. " Nans " (*Eq.* 12), as to which Paris was uncertain (*Rom.* VIII. 34), Warnke takes to be the country about Nantes. The action of *Lecheor* is " a Saint Pantelion " (*Rom.* VIII. 65); if this is a place and not a festival (cf. *Zt. frz. Spr.* XX. 115), Paris could not locate it (*loc. cit.*, p. 37).

[2] The romances occasionally take their personages to well-known places, such as Vannes, in various parts of Brittany (Vicomte de Calan, in *Rev. de Bret.*, 1903, pp. 15, 33–4, 40–57, and in *Mémoires de l'Assoc. Bret.*, St.-Brieuc, 1911, *L'Élém. Celt. dans les Rom. d'Avent.*, 10, 13). This is hardly the same thing as the main location of a short poem. The most interesting case, which has not been remarked in connection with the *Franklin's Tale*, is that the touching and dramatic scene at the end of the thirteenth-century French prose *Tristan* is laid at Penmarch itself. Tristan, lying desperately wounded at Karahès (Carhaix), sends for Yseult of Ireland, and spends every day " sur le port de Penmare " watching for her ship, till weakness forces him to send his god-daughter daily instead. The jealous Yseult of Brittany " regarde aval la mer bien loing et voit venir la nef au blanc voile " (see Bédier's edition of Thomas' *Tristan*, S.A.T.F., II. 383, 388–9, and cf. 299; Löseth's summary of the prose romance in *Bibl. des Hautes Études*, fasc. 82, p. 381; Sarrazin in *Rom. Forsch.* IV. 319). There is a curious analogy between the situations here and in the *Franklin's Tale*, the pining watcher on a high shore (purely fictitious at Penmarch) longing for the coming of the loved one from England. The scene in the *Tristan* may have some connection with the choice of scene for Chaucer's poem, and with the picture of a high shore. For the *Tristan*, Penmarch is ill-chosen, not only, as M. Bédier says, because of its low shore, but because it is over fifty miles from Carhaix (which is thirty miles or so from any tide-water; but there are various smaller places of the name). In the lack of local detail and truth the scene in the *Tristan*, like the lay of *Doon*, makes one feel how much there is in the *Franklin's Tale*.

Finally, there is the linguistic argument in my second chapter above. I showed that if the vanished or renamed or imaginary abode of Arveragus and Dorigen had appeared in a French work, it should have been named Carru (Karru) and not Kayrrud (Kairrud). It might possibly be suggested that Chaucer, while using a Breton lay, introduced accurate local detail not found in it, possibly even that he corrected its spelling to make it more Breton. It is not for an article which points out Chaucer's careful realism to set limits to it. It is enough to show that his accuracy is not an argument for a Breton lay as source, but rather the contrary.

Dr. Schofield's argument for a Breton lay as the source has been chiefly regarded in this article because it is the only one published. Most people will admit the cleverness of his difficult attempt, and that an accumulation of evidences, singly light as air, may under some circumstances become confirmations strong as some proofs of Holy Writ. It is impossible to disprove absolutely that Chaucer knew a Breton lay on the same subject as the *Franklin's Tale*.[1] But all the evidence yet adduced to show that he did is better interpreted another way. The plot, persons, scene and form of the poem are accounted for by the *Filocolo*, probably Geoffrey of Monmouth, and some knowledge of Brittany and of Breton lays. He knew of Penmark and its rocks; he knew that *Kayrrud* was at least a Breton name, perhaps that it existed in the neighbourhood, perhaps even how neatly it fitted a pagan tale; he took Dorigen's name from a Breton person or place. As to just how his idea developed we need not add to Chaucer's joy in Paradise by guessing.[2] It is only by a sort of Celtic

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[1] If any one, rejecting the idea of an independent Celtic tradition, should care to conjecture as known to both Boccaccio and Chaucer a late lay founded on the Oriental tale, he might see a partial parallel in the *Lai de l'Épervier* (in a MS. collection of Breton lays and edited by Paris in *Romania* VII. 1–21). This was drawn, probably through oral tradition, from a tale found in the *Sukasaptati*, the *Hitopadesa* and the *Sindibâd ;* Boccaccio uses the same traditional tale (not the lay) in the *Decameron* (VII. 6), and curiously enough Beaumont and Fletcher use part of it, as they do the *Franklin's Tale*. *L'Épervier* does not call itself a *Breton* lay, though it imitates the type does so only imperfectly, and its general tone is very different. Much of my argument would still oppose any such suggestion, of which (lacking further evidence) we may say, as the Wife of Bath said of one of her deceased husbands,

It nis but wast to burye him preciously.

[2] A few possibilities are suggested on pp. 6, 45, 62, 68, 69 above. The scene, and Arveragus' wished return from foreign wars, may have been suggested by the contemporary Breton campaigns, contemporary familiarity with Brittany, and possibly the episode in the prose *Tristan*. The scene, and

illusion that this theory seems more complex than Dr. Schofield's, which seems simple only through making Chaucer's procedure simple and removing much greater complications into the back shadows. And a simple explanation of the behaviour of so complex a being as the matured artist, while it may please logically and readily pierce to the seat of conviction, often satisfies less than a less simple explanation does. The logically simple is sometimes the historically improbable. The fact is that the *Franklin's Tale* is too Breton for a Breton lay. Across the elaboration, intricacy, heightening, which go to make admirable poetry, we seem to catch a glimpse not of the Brittany of romance, but of the real Brittany.

NOTE ON THE EARLIER HISTORY OF THE STORY.

IT will contribute light, though not directly to the argument, to compare Chaucer's and Boccaccio's tales with the Oriental versions more fully than either Professor Schofield or Professor Rajna has done. The Chaucer Society's *Originals and Analogues* prints ten of various dates [1]—

1. Sanskrit	6. Hebrew
2. Burmese	7. " Germano-Jewish "
3. Persian	8. Siberian
4. Persian : in the *Tuti Náma*	9. Turkish
5. " Indo-Persian " [2]	10. Gaelic.

The essence of this admirable story, common to the Oriental versions and to Boccaccio's and Chaucer's, is that a woman (unmarried in the Oriental) has pledged herself [3] to a lover, later her husband allows her to go to him, [4]

the story as it came to him, with its love and supernaturalism, harmonized with the lay-type. The rock-task was perhaps indicated by the scene and by the dangers of the voyage to Brittany. The need of ancient British names may have suggested the use of Geoffrey. But it has been foreign to my purpose to develop an elaborate detailed theory. I should add that in his recent *Chivalry in English Literature* (p. 52) Dr. Schofield notes the close relations of Brittany and England in Chaucer's day, and the parallel between Arveragus' service in England and that of many English knights in Brittany.

[1] Pp. 289–340, edited by Mr. W. A. Clouston. I call them " Oriental " for brevity. One (pp. 317–19) seems to be Yiddish, another (326–8) is Scotch-Gaelic; but no one, noticing its similarity to the Turkish and Siberian versions, can help differing with Mr. Clouston, who suggests a Norse origin, and agreeing with Rajna (*Romania*, XXXI. 42–3) that it is a rather recent importation from the East by literary means.

[2] Given in very brief outline, which is suspected by Mr. Clouston of inaccuracy, and rather different from the rest; the woman makes no promise, and her husband quite voluntarily offers her to her lover, his friend.

[3] Apparently not in 5, as noted above. In 7 the two have been betrothed by their fathers. In most of the Oriental versions the promise certainly cannot be called rash.

[4] In order to give herself to him (1–5, 7–10), or to get his permission to wed the other (6). But in 3 seemingly the husband is not consulted.

and the lover releases her. This would be a slight basis for a story, even if dressed in further, minor, detail, and accordingly we never find it so simple. In all the Oriental versions, on the way to or from her lover she meets a thief,[1] who generously refrains from molesting her. This agreeable complication is replaced in Chaucer and Boccaccio by the lover's fulfilment of a seemingly impossible condition through the help of a magician, who refrains from claiming his reward, and therefore exactly corresponds to the generous thief. Such is the bare skeleton of the tale in its two types. But another element is always found in both; the tale ends with the question which of three or four characters behaved best [2]; and further, this is always asked of characters in a larger story of which this tale forms part. The fact that this element always occurs, and the naturalness of the question, makes one suspect that the tale was a problem-tale from the first.[3]

Now two things are to be remarked. First, the new element in Chaucer and Boccaccio shows a not unnatural development from the other type. All versions recognize in some way the need of somehow accounting for. the promise, but assign various motives.[4] The motive and circumstances of the promise in the Europeans are somewhat paralleled in three other versions; in 1 she hopes to get rid of her lover for the time being, as forever in the Europeans, and in 2 and 4 she imposes a small task; [5] but in Chaucer and Boccaccio the promise is far more adequately motived. Whether some such condition was in the source of Boccaccio and Chaucer,[6] or whether the agreement is a coincidence, we cannot tell. But in any case the naturalness of the European change does not justify the remarkable coincidence postulated by Dr. Schofield. The second thing to note is that the variation in the Chaucer-Boccaccio type is a highly conscious and deliberate one. Keeping the beginning and ending essentially unchanged, within the tale it drops the thief episode, and adds the task which requires a magician. Not only would the story, with neither, have been reduced to flatness, but in the final *dubbio* the magician steps directly into the place vacated by the thief. By the change the story seems to be elevated, to grow in emotional truth and depth, to become more civilized and adult; there is a crudity in putting the thief's generosity on a par with that of the others. The retention of the three rivals in magnanimity would indicate that the magician came in immediately with the dropping of the thief, this that the task was a seemingly impossible one, and this that the woman was merely trying to rid herself of a troublesome suitor.

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[1] Sometimes a gang of thieves, in 10 only one of them generous. In 2-4 she is also in the power of a kind of ogre, a lion, or a wolf.

[2] Husband, lover, thief (magician in the Europeans) (1, 8-10); with the addition of the woman or an animal or ogre (2, 4, 5); lover, thief, lion (3); lover, thief, woman (6, 7). In 5 the judgments may be given without the asking of the question.

[3] In Chaucer the question is least essential. In 1 the teller tries to surprise his auditor into speaking; in the other Oriental tales he tries to judge from the answer who is likely to have committed a certain theft; in *Filocolo* the tale is told to provoke discussion, and in *Decameron* as an illustration of liberality.

[4] In 5, 6, 8-10 she loves the man (no promise in 5); in 1 she fears he will use force then and there; in 2 and 4 she promises in return for a trifling favour (picking up something dropped, picking a rose); in 3 (the only case where she promises generally, ignorant of what he will ask), out of the vanity of power; in 7, out of filial piety, she keeps a promise made by her father.

[5] With the important difference that she first imposes the task, he replies with the condition, which she accepts with full knowledge that the task will be, as it is, instantly fulfilled.

[6] Rajna seems to think it was; he regards 4 (with the rose-picking) as nearest to Chaucer.

the last

Who made this excellent change we cannot be sure, but it would not be injudicious to imagine that it was Boccaccio himself, possibly remembering Jehan de Condé's *Chevalier a le Mance* (cf. Rajna, *Romania*, XXXI. 45–6). It is hard to see why, except that his theory demands it, Dr. Schofield should be so sure the change was made by some nameless re-worker of the Oriental tale and not by the skilful Italian. We even have a bit of evidence on this point. While we cannot be sure that Boccaccio introduced the task, it was probably he who made it the production of a miraculous garden. We hardly need Zingarelli's article (*Romania*, XIV. 433–41) to show that he took the long account of Tebano's magic rites and their result almost word for word from his favourite *Metamorphoses*, VII. 179–284. We should note the ending especially. When Medea has brewed the marvellous liquor which is to rejuvenate Æson, she stirs it with a dry olive-branch, which presently is loaded with olives, and the bespattered earth bears grass, flowers and fruit. Just so Tebano's dry branch becomes loaded with dark olives; he scatters the liquor over the ground, with the same result, which is just what the lady had demanded (pp. 50, 56–7). It is true that one or two of the details remind one of the magic garden said to have been produced by Albertus Magnus in January, 1248 (Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1866, II. 170–2; cf. references in Landau, *Quell. d. Dek.*, 2nd ed., 95–7). But Virgil's garden, mentioned by Zingarelli and by Comparetti (*Virg. nel Med. Evo*, Engl. transl., p. 360), was wholly different; cf. Thoms, *Prose Romances*, II. 43–4, 54, and Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, 16, 106. So are the other magic feats cited by Landau and Comparetti. Dr. H. W. L. Dana points out to me that in Boccaccio there is no trace of the rocks, but in Chaucer several possible traces of the gardens of Boccaccio's tale and its setting (ll. 901–17, 1015, 1031–5, 1147–8, 1250–1). The last three passages are curious, with their magically grown plants and a somewhat irrelevant consciousness of the dependence of vegetation on the seasons.

It seems likely that Boccaccio knew (perhaps through oral transmission) just such a version as our Oriental tales, and made it over with great freedom and literary ability. The independence which I have ascribed to Chaucer is much less. After all, in this as in other widespread stories, somebody must have made deliberate changes; and who is so likely to have done so as two of the most skilful writers of the Middle Ages?